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MAURICE

ON THE

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE
EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS;

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

THREE LECTURES

DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL OF THE HONOURABLE
SOCIETY OF LINCOLN'S INN,

ON THE

FOUNDATION OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

WITH A PREFACE

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF MR. NEWMAN'S THEORY
OF DEVELOPMENT.

BY

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JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLVI

TO
THE MOST REVEREND
WILLIAM.
BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE
*LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN:*

THESE LECTURES,
PREACHED BY HIS GRACE'S APPOINTMENT,
ARE,
WITH MUCH GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,
DEDICATED
BY HIS GRACE'S OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,
FREDERICK D. MAURICE

Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας

ΑΡΟC. XIX. 10.

SIATE, Cristiani a movervi più gravi
Non siate come penna ad ogni vento,
E non crediate che ogni acqua vi lavi.
Avete il vecchio e il novo testamento,
E il pastor della chiesa, che vi guida:
Questo vi basti a vostro salvamento.

* * * * *

Non fate come agnel, che lascia il latte
Della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo
Seco medesimo a suo piacer combatte.

DANTE, *Paradiso*, Canto V. vv. 73—81.

Be ye more staid,
O Christians! not like feather, by each wind
Removeable; nor think to cleanse yourselves
In every water. Either testament,
The old and new is yours: and for your guide
The shepherd of the Church. Let this suffice
To save you.

* * * * *

Be not as the lamb,
That, fickle, wanton, leaves its mother's milk,
To dally with itself in idle play.

CARY'S *Translation*.

PREFACE.

THE Lectures delivered on the foundation of Bishop Warburton extend through four years, three being delivered in each year. The deed which institutes them, directs that they should be printed, but leaves it optional with the preacher, whether they shall appear altogether or in portions. I have adopted the latter course, which is the less usual one, because I wish the principle of these three Lectures to be examined apart from the application I may hereafter make of it, and because I believe they have a direct reference to one of the leading controversies of our day.

The plan of the whole course was arranged, and one of the Lectures delivered, before Mr. Newman's Theory of Developments appeared, or I had more than the vaguest guess respecting its probable character. Had the case been otherwise, I should have been very unwilling to use the pulpit as a place for replying to that Theory or any other. In preaching, we may state principles and make use of them; if the occasion and the capacity of the audience warrant it, we may explain a method; but the questions, how these principles or their uses are affected by opinions which eminent writers have put forth, at what points the method comes into contact or collision with theirs, are surely better reserved for another place. In this preface, I wish to explain in what way I conceive these Lectures bear upon Mr. Newman's Theory. That I may do so effectually, it will be needful to give a summary of the contents

of each chapter of his book, with my commentary upon it. I am quite aware that this summary may not fairly express the intention of the author. Analyses may often convey more dishonest and hurtful representations than the most malignant criticism. But these remarks are intended for those who are acquainted with the book, and who will not trust my report of it. I do not offer that report as any substitute for the reading of it, but merely as a readier means of comparing its statements with my own.

In his Introduction, Mr. Newman maintains that Christianity ought to be dealt with as a fact in the world's history; that from the first it has had an objective existence, that its home is in the world, and that to know what it is we must seek it in the world, and hear the world's witness of it. There is a prevailing opinion, that Christianity died out of the world at its birth, and was succeeded by a counterfeit or counterfeits which assumed its name; that it exists now as a secret and hidden doctrine, only manifested to the world in glimpses and gleams. Still, this is only an hypothesis. The external continuity of name, profession, and communion, is a *prima facie* argument for a real continuity of doctrine; and that the more, considering that prophecy had already determined that Christianity was to be a power visible in the world, and sovereign over it,—characters which are accurately fulfilled in the historical Christianity to which we commonly give the name. It is clear by the confession of Protestants, that whatever be historical Christianity, it is not Protestantism. They have determined to dispense with historical Chris-

tianity altogether—to form a Christianity from the Bible only. Later German Protestantism has taken a bolder course,—has surveyed the Christianity of 1800 years, and avows that it is the mere religion of man, and the accident of a period. Anglicans, though sharing very much in the Protestant neglect of history, have not wholly set aside the Christianity which they find existing after the days of the Apostles. But they have adopted a particular standard to determine which part of it is apostolical, which not. This standard is the dictum of Vincentius, that Christianity is what has been held always, everywhere, and by all. This rule, though it contains a majestic truth, offers an intelligible principle, and wears a reasonable air, has nevertheless, he says, failed those who have resorted to it for the interpretation of history. Apply it strictly to the Fathers, and you cannot make out that the doctrine of the Trinity was held always, everywhere, and by all. You can only make out a consensus by using the strong assertions of one respecting some side of the doctrine, to bear out the weak, the all but heretical statements of another respecting it, and by using the orthodoxy of that one respecting some other side of the doctrine, to support what is doubtful or suspicious in a contemporary or predecessor. But if the canon is applied with this looseness, the Fathers may be brought just as effectually in support of those Romish tenets, which Anglican divines seek to get rid of by the help of it. True then as the dictum may be in the abstract, and possible as the application might be in its author's age, the solution it offers is now as difficult as the original problem. Another way

of dealing with historical Christianity, has been to assume an early corruption of it from external sources, Oriental, Platonic, and Polytheistic. But we cannot apply this hypothesis until we are distinctly informed what the real Christian doctrine or Evangelical message is, or if there be any; from what sources it is drawn; how these sources are ascertained to us; and what is a corruption. A third hypothesis has been put forward by divines of the Church of Rome. It is maintained "that the doctrines of the later ages of the Church were really in it from the first; but were not publicly taught, for the sake of reverence, that sacred subjects might not be profaned by the heathen, and for the sake of catechumens, that they might not be oppressed by a sudden communication of the whole circle of revealed truth." The fact of this secret discipline is undoubted, but it will not account for that apparent variation and growth of doctrine which embarrasses us when we would consult history for the true idea of Christianity, since the variations continue beyond the time when it is conceivable that the discipline was enforced. Mr. Newman's Essay then is directed towards a solution of the difficulty. The view which he proposes to unfold is, "that the increase and expansion of the Christian Creed and Ritual, and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and Churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart, and has had any wide or extended dominion; that from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest

and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but as received and transmitted by minds not inspired, and through media which were human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their elucidation." This is the theory of developments. It is no doubt an hypothesis to account for a difficulty; "so also are the various explanations given by astronomers, from Ptolemy to Newton, of the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies." The facts must be explained in some way. Other hypotheses have been tried. "Infidelity has its views and ideas on which it arranges the facts of ecclesiastical history; and it is sure to consider the absence of any antagonist theory as an evidence of the reality of its own." "Those who find fault with the explanation here offered of the historical phenomena of Christianity, will find it their duty to provide one of their own." It is "not the fault of those who adopt this theory, if it accounts for the creed of Pope Pius, as well as for the Athanasian Creed." All however, that can be expected from the Essay is, "a solution of such a number of the reputed corruptions of Rome as may form a fair ground for trusting her where the investigation has not been pursued."

I have a few remarks to make upon this Introduction. I entirely agree with the author that Christianity is to be viewed as an historical fact; that we are not to assume that it died at its birth or that it is now merely a secret doctrine, revived at certain intervals by lapses of the Spirit. I admit that neither the dictum of Vincentius, nor the theory of oriental cor-

ruptions, nor the *disciplina arcani*, is adequate to solve the problems which present themselves to us in the history of Christendom. Lastly, I reject more strongly than I think Mr. Newman himself can, the doctrine "that Christianity is the religion of man or the accident of a period, that it belongs to the childhood of the human mind, and is curious to the philosopher as a problem." I do not complain of him for attempting to meet a difficulty which really exists; I am glad that he has attempted it. He has a right to require that those who oppose him should offer their own explanation, not merely raise objections to his.

The charge against Protestants and Anglicans, of not looking fairly at history, requires a little more examination. That it is true to a great extent, must, I think, at once be admitted; and it is much better when we acknowledge a fault which we wish to see amended, not to waste time in urging exceptions or putting in pleas of mitigation. But Mr. Newman assumes that the error is inseparable from Protestant or Anglican principles; we dare not deal with Christianity historically, for we know what would become of those principles if we did. Now, it was affirmed some time ago, in the *British Critic*, by Mr. Ward, that the mind of Aquinas, richly as it was endowed with all manner of stores, had certainly not received an historical cultivation. Whatever weight may be attached to the authority from which this remark proceeded, it was unquestionably true; grounded upon a real observation of the character and spirit of the great man to whom it referred. The whole of his dogmatic theology is not merely unhistorical, but anti-

historical—and accordingly it was the revival of historical feeling in the sixteenth century which produced the great rebellion against him. The revivers of letters, as they are called, fled to the classical writers precisely because they found them full of action and history; they denounced the schoolmen precisely because they wanted these qualities. Luther's dislike to Aquinas, though it had a much deeper root, was the same in kind; he betook himself to the Bible, not to Livy and Tacitus, but to the Bible expressly as an historical book—a book of deeds and life, and as such, a witness against the formal divinity of the schools. No doubt, he asserted its authority as the Word of God, against the dicta of the schools—but theoretically, he did not place its claims to reverence higher than Aquinas had placed them. It was his mode of dealing with the Bible as a practical book; a book for men; a book which interpreted the past and the present too; which really distinguished him from those who had gone before. No one would have so readily adopted Mr. Newman's description of Christianity. "It is no dream of the study or the cloister. It has long since passed beyond the letter of documents and the reasonings of individual minds, and has become public property....It has thrown itself upon the great concourse of men." This was the case in Germany. But Mr. Newman admits that Englishmen are, on the whole, more historical than the Protestants abroad. Of course he must admit it. No man in his senses can doubt that in dealing with the abstract we have always been, and shall always be, inferior to the Germans; that the region of the concrete of facts, of practical life, of

history, is especially ours. The main charge against our Church is, that it is so national: the often-repeated taunt in Mr. Newman's book is, that the royal supremacy is our main article of faith. Let the evil of those tendencies be as great as they may, they cannot surely produce a disposition unfavourable to history; the interest in it has seldom flourished where they, or some similar feelings, have been wanting. Putting then these observations together, that the great representative of middle-age divinity—nay, of the Catholic system in all ages—is, by the confession (perhaps I ought rather to say by the boast) of a worshipper, essentially indifferent to history, as such; that not some accidental tenet of Protestantism, but precisely its feeling of reverence for the Bible, was connected with a craving for history, and with an inclination, often taking wild and grotesque forms, to treat the existing world as a continuation of the old world; lastly, that our Anglican habits, prejudices, abuses, all indicate a peculiar bias towards the contemplation of theology from this side; I think we may fairly conclude that our unwillingness to deal with Christianity as an historical fact, and to examine its manifestations as they are presented to us in each age, cannot arise from our adherence to the principles which distinguish Protestantism or Anglicanism from Romanism. What the cause of it is I may have an opportunity of considering hereafter.

In his first Chapter, Mr. Newman considers the Development of Ideas under the three heads: of (1) The Process of Development; (2) The Kinds of Development; (3) The Corruption of Ideas.

(a). "Those judgments which are firmly fixed in our minds and have a firm hold over us, whether they are principles of conduct, views of life and the world, or fall under the general head of Belief," Mr. Newman calls IDEAS.—(p. 30.)

(b). Such ideas "are either real, that is, represent facts existing, or mere imaginations, and stand for nothing external to themselves."—(p. 30.)

(c). "The number of persons holding an idea is no warrant for its objective character."—(p. 31.)

(d). "An idea ever presents itself under different aspects to different minds, and in proportion to that variety will be the proof of its reality and distinctness."—(p. 32.)

(e). "All the representations of an idea, even all the misrepresentations, are capable of a mutual reconciliation and adjustment, and of a resolution into the subject to which they belong; and their contrariety, when explained, is an argument for its substantiveness and integrity, and their variety for its originality and power."—(p. 33.)

(f). "There is no aspect such as to go the depth of a real idea; no one term or proposition which can duly and fully represent it; though one representation of it will be more just and appropriate than another; and though when an idea is very complex, it is allowable to consider its different aspects as separate ideas, for the sake of convenience."—(p. 34.)

(g). "An attempt has been made to ascertain the 'leading idea,' as it has been called, of Christianity; a remarkable essay as directed towards a divine religion, when, even in the existence of the works of man, the task is beyond us. Thus the one idea of the Gospel has been decided by some to be the restoration of our fallen race, by others philanthropy, by others the spirituality of true religious service, by others the salvation of the elect, by others the union of the soul with God. All these representations are truths, as being aspects of Christianity, but none of them is the whole truth. For Christianity has many aspects: it has

its imaginative side, its philosophical, its ethical, its political; it is solemn, and it is cheerful; it is indulgent, and it is strict; it is light, and it is dark; it is love, and it is fear."—(p. 35.)

(h). "When some great enunciation, whether true or false, about human nature, or present good, or government, or duty, or religion, is carried forward into the public throng and draws attention, then it is not only passively admitted in this or that form into the minds of men, but it becomes a living principle within them, leading them to an ever-new contemplation of itself, an acting upon it and a propagation of it."—(p. 35.)

(i). "Let one such idea get possession of the popular mind, or the mind of any set of persons, and it is not difficult to understand the effects which will ensue. There will be a general agitation of thought, and an action of mind both upon itself and upon other minds. New lights will be brought to bear upon the original idea, aspects will multiply, and judgments will accumulate. There will be a time of confusion, when conceptions and misconceptions are in conflict; and it is uncertain whether any thing is to come of the idea at all, or which view of it is to get the start of the others. After a while some definite form of doctrine emerges; and, as time proceeds, one view of it will be modified or expanded by another, and then, combined with a third, till the idea in which they centre will be to each mind separately what at first it was only to all together. It will be surveyed, too, in its relation to other doctrines or facts, to other natural laws or established rules, to the varying circumstances of times and places, to other religions, politics, philosophies, as the case may be. How it stands affected towards other systems, how it affects them, how far it coalesces with them, how far it tolerates, when it interferes with them, will be gradually wrought out. It will be questioned and criticized by enemies, and explained by well-wishers. The multitude of opinions formed concerning it, in these respects and many others, will be

collected, compared, sorted, sifted, selected, or rejected, and gradually attached to it, or separated from it, in the minds of individuals and of the community. It will, in proportion to its native vigour and subtlety, introduce itself into the framework and details of social life, changing public opinion, and supporting or undermining the foundations of established order. Thus in time it has grown into an ethical code, or into a system of government, or into a theology, or into a ritual, according to its capabilities; and this system, or body of thought, theoretical and practical, thus laboriously gained, will after all be only the adequate representation of the original idea, being nothing else than what that very idea *meant* from the first,—its exact image as seen in a combination of the most diversified aspects, with the suggestions and corrections of many minds, and the illustration of many trials.

“This process is called the development of an idea, being the germination, growth, and perfection of some living, that is, influential truth, or apparent truth, in the minds of men during a sufficient period. And it has this necessary characteristic,—that, since its province is the busy scene of human life, it cannot develope at all, except either by destroying, or modifying and incorporating with itself, existing modes of thinking and acting. Its development then is not like a mathematical theorem worked out on paper, in which each successive advance is a pure evolution from a foregoing, but it is carried on through individuals and bodies of men; it employs their minds as instruments, and depends upon them while it uses them.”—(pp. 35—37.)

(*k*). “An idea is elicited by trial, and struggles into perfection. . . . It necessarily rises out of an existing state of things, and for a time savours of the soil. . . . At first, no one knows what it is, or what it is worth. . . . From time to time, it makes essays which fail, and are in consequence abandoned. It seems in suspense which way to go; it wavers, and at length strikes out in one definite

direction. In time it enters upon strange territory; points of controversy alter their bearing; parties rise and fall about it; dangers and hopes appear in new relations, and old principles reappear under new forms; it changes with them in order to remain the same."—(pp. 38, 39.)

The changes in Wesleyanism, from its commencement in Wesley's Oxford asceticism, to the formation and establishment of the sect, are given as an instance of the development of an idea.

Though I have quoted largely from this chapter—more largely than I can do from any other—because it is necessary fully to set forth the author's doctrine, before we consider the application of it, I shall not comment upon it at any corresponding length. I am most anxious that the controversy should not only be treated practically, but should be felt as practical by all who enter upon the study of it. If I allowed myself to be seduced into a discussion of Mr. Newman's nomenclature, I should leave the impression upon a number of minds that, in spite of what has been said about fact and history, we are chiefly occupied with metaphysical distinctions. I leave him therefore to define ideas as he pleases; and his definition being assumed, I think it is impossible not to be struck with the truth and value of many of the statements which I have quoted. Their eloquence I have been reluctantly forced to weaken, though the reader will detect it even in my abridgement. Nothing, I think, can be more just and striking than his description of the effect of a strong conviction upon a mind which has become possessed with it; how it must work and cannot be let; how it must grow and cannot remain in its first seed; how it must communicate

itself to other minds, and be affected by all it finds in them; how spiritual conflicts, and conflicts in the world, the one always answering to the other, must prove its soundness and strength.

While, however, one freely allows Mr. Newman to use words in any sense he thinks best, provided he adheres to that sense, we are bound to take care that he does not impute his own meaning to an opponent, and so make him ridiculous; and that, on the other hand, he does not ever secretly adopt the opponent's meaning, and connect applications really belonging to it with his own. An instance of the first kind occurs in that very important paragraph of this section which I have marked (g). It is absurd, Mr. Newman thinks, to seek for the leading idea of any human work, monstrous to seek for the leading idea of one that is divine. Undoubtedly; substitute for the word "idea" Mr. Newman's equivalent, "habitual judgment," and one feels the absurdity instantly. In fact, the attempt is so absurd that you cannot express it in language. But suppose, by the idea of a work, any one wished to signify the principle or purpose of it, that which the work means, that which distinguishes it from another, though he might be employing a phraseology which Mr. Newman does not employ, there would certainly be no *prima facie* contradiction in his professing to seek for the idea, or the leading idea of that work. Nay, if plain honest people understood what he was aiming at, they would feel a sympathy with him which they would not feel with Mr. Newman. A man sits for his picture to an artist. No doubt there may be an imaginative aspect in his face, a philosophical, an ethical, a political,—at times

it may be solemn, at times it may be cheerful—it may be light and it may be dark,—there may be fear and there may be love in it ; but he expects the artist to represent not one of these aspects, or all these aspects of his face, but himself—what his face means. The test of the genius of the painter is that he can do this; that he shall not be bound by some one of the contradictory impressions which the face makes upon him at different times, that he shall not reduce or generalize them into nothingness, but that he shall perceive what is beneath them all, what the man himself is. This is what the persons whom Mr. Newman despises would, I conceive, call looking for the leading idea of this human countenance. They would admit that the task is, as he says, a very difficult one, that the canvass must be blotted a great many times before there is any success, that the painter must struggle hard to recover a vision which often dawns upon him and often disappears ; still they say, difficult as the method is, it is the only one ; disappointments may be frequent in this path, but there is no attaining a worthy end by any other. What we denote by Raphael or Michael Angelo, is precisely a person who has been enabled to choose this way, to persevere in it more steadily than others, and so to reach a higher result ; and just so far as the poorest sign-painter has this end before him, is he walking in the spirit of Michael Angelo or Raphael,—just so far as the most learned Academician has any other, he must be pronounced a corrupter of his art.

In science I apprehend the case is exactly the same. Without pretending to a knowledge of the processes which have led to great discoveries in any

department of it, I must assume, upon the testimony of those who know best, that they have been in conformity with the maxim and principle of Bacon. Now though Mr. Newman seems to think that Bacon lived for the purpose of convincing people that they were to use their senses in judging of sensible things, I conceive the *Novum Organum* gives us a very different impression of the end for which he supposed that he lived. From it one would fancy that he laboured to free men from the impositions and presumptions of their senses and of their understandings,—to prevent them from imputing to the things which they were studying their own imaginative, philosophical, ethical, political habits, their own solemn or cheerful, indulgent or strict, light or dark temperaments,—to shew them how they might question and torture the things which they beheld to tell them what they were, what they meant,—how they might humble themselves to nature,—how, after long efforts and grievous mistakes caused by the false impressions and generalizations of their intellects, they might obtain an answer, in other words, might persuade each object to unfold its leading idea.

In another department, that of literary criticism, all that seems to have been gained in the last eighty years is just this, that the student has been induced to abandon the hard canons, imaginative, ethical, political, by which, in the last century, men measured and judged every work that was submitted to them; that he has humbled himself to his author, has asked him to tell him his own secret, which is only another way of saying, his leading idea. And though it is true, that when he is most sure he has apprehended

the design and entered into the spirit of his author, he may be missing both, it is equally true that the discovery of his mistakes only makes him more certain that his method must be the right one; because they proceed from his deserting it—from his exhibiting an image of himself when the method was teaching him to forget himself in the object which was set before him.

I have been speaking of what Mr. Newman would call human works: but I am much mistaken if the faith in which the artist searches for the meaning of the human countenance, and in which the man of science searches for the meaning of nature, do not proceed, often unconsciously to themselves, from the certainty that they are studying divine works, the works of a heavenly artist, who has expressed his own meaning there, and is willing to disclose it to those who, being called to such tasks, patiently, devoutly, humbly enquire after it. And, therefore, I am at a loss to understand why there is an *à fortiori* case against searching for the leading idea of that which is divine. I can only think so if the word Revelation mean nothing; or, if it be true that the Lord of all will reveal the kingdom of earth to those who ask, but has not done ought to reveal the kingdom of heaven. To this subject we shall have to return again and again. We shall see presently whether Mr. Newman is able himself to dispense with the search for a leading idea, and if not, what are the reasons of his contempt for those who openly avow this to be their work.

In the next section, Mr. Newman, after mentioning that development is a common word to signify either that which is faithful or that which is unfaith-

ful to the ideas from which it starts, but that the latter may be called a corruption; he distinguishes developments; as 1st, Mathematical. 2nd, Physical. 3rd, Material. 4th, Political, which are generally dependent upon ideas for their unity and force, though in themselves material. 5th, Logical, (an instance of which is the use of the word *θεοτόκος* at Ephesus, as a test of orthodoxy). 6th, Historical (*e. g.* the development of the canon; the changes of opinion respecting great men; the canonisation of saints). 7th, Moral: the inferring, not by a logical process, but because the result is 'congruous, desirable, decorous, pious, generous,' either certain duties from the knowledge which has been given us of certain objects, and of our relations to them; or, conversely, the existence of objects and the desirableness of acts from certain feelings. By the first process, the idea of the beatification of the saints gives rise to their *cultus*; by the second, the conscience becomes the proof of the existence of a moral governor; the doctrine of post-baptismal sin, and the usage of prayers for the dead, have developed into the doctrine of Purgatory. 8th, Metaphysical, *i. e.* the analysis of an idea, the bringing into form and delineation that which has been before held implicitly—*e. g.* the formation of creeds. pp. 43—57.

I shall not notice any of these divisions now, for specimens of each will present themselves separately in the course of the work.

In the third section, Mr. Newman undertakes to distinguish between the (true) development of an idea and its corruption. He dwells upon the analogy of physical growth, which is such that the parts and

properties of the developed form correspond to those which belong to the rudiments. p. 58.

But this same analogy suggests that there may be a considerable alteration of proportion and relation in the development of the parts or aspects of an idea; the butterfly is no image of the grub. Corruption cannot be the same thing with change; it implies the breaking up or dissolution of parts. Applied to philosophical and political ideas, it is a process ending in dissolution of the body of thought and usage, which was bound up as it were into one system; in the destruction of the norm, or type, whatever it may be considered, which made it one; in its disorganization, in its loss of the principle of life and growth, in its resolution into other distinct lives, that is, into other ideas which take the place of it. pp. 58—63.

The first test of a true *development*, is the *Preservation of the essential Idea or Type*.

“This test, however,” says Mr. Newman, “is too obvious and too close upon demonstration to be of easy application in particular cases. It implies an insight into the essential idea in which a system of thought is set up, which often cannot be possessed, and, if attempted, will lead to mere theorizing. As to Christianity, considering the unsystematic character of its inspired documents and the all but silence of contemporary history, if we attempt to determine its one original profession, undertaking, or announcement, we shall be reduced to those eclectic and arbitrary decisions which have in all ages been so common, and have been censured in a former place. Thus, of old time, the Author of the Clementines gives this rule for separating what he considers the spurious from the genuine portion of Scripture: ‘Every thing is false which contradicts the divine perfections.’ On the other hand, in a work just published,

we are told, 'Seize the general tendency of the pure Gospel into one concentrated thought, and you will be persuaded that Jesus's words, "The body profiteth nothing," are a master-key to the whole of His revelation. But how totally inconsistent with this leading principle is the account of Jesus's conception!' Nothing can be easier, and nothing more trifling, than private determinations about 'the essentials, the peculiar doctrines, the vital doctrines, the great truths, simple views, or leading idea of the Gospel.'

"The first test, THEN (!) of a faithful or legitimate development is its *preservation of the essential idea* of the doctrine or polity which it represents."—(pp. 65, 66.)

The next test is *the Continuity of Principles*. Thus Islamism is said to be the form or life of the Ottoman, and Protestantism of the British empire, and the admission of European ideas into the one, or of Catholic ideas into the other, to be the destruction of the respective conditions of their power. In illustration of this subject, Mr. Newman draws a distinction between doctrines and principles, which stand to each other as the definitions to the axioms and postulates of mathematics. A development to be faithful, must retain both the doctrine and the principle from which it started. Heretics are true to their principles, but change to and fro, backwards and forwards in opinion. pp. 68—73.

The third test is *the Power of Assimilation*. The idea never was that throve and lasted, yet, like mathematical truth, incorporated nothing from external sources. So far from the fact of such incorporation implying corruption, development implies incorporation. That an idea more readily coalesces with certain ideas than with others, does not shew that it has been unduly influenced, that is, corrupted by them,

but that it had an antecedent affinity with them. p. 75.

The fourth test is *Early Anticipation*. Thus, though manual labour had a more prominent place in the early monasteries than study; and though De Rancé on that ground condemned the latter as an innovation, it is true that St. Pachomius, the first author of a monastic rule, enjoined a library in each of his houses; that St. Basil wrote his theological treatises in the intervals of labour, &c. Though these are exceptions in the early history of monachism, they show that literature is not inconsistent with its idea. p. 77—80.

The next test is *Logical Sequence*.

“Though it is a matter of accident in what order or degree developments of a common idea will show themselves in this or that place, particular minds or communities taking different courses, yet on a large field they will on the whole be gradual and orderly, nay, in *logical sequence*. It may be asked whether a development is itself a logical process; and if by this is meant a conscious reasoning from premisses to conclusion, of course the answer must be in the negative. An idea grows in the mind by remaining there; it becomes familiar and distinct, and is viewed in its relations; it suggests other ideas, and these again others, subtle, recondite, original, according to the character, intellectual and moral, of the recipient; and thus a body of thought is gradually formed without his recognising what is going on within him. And all this while, or at least from time to time, external circumstances elicit into formal statement the thoughts which are coming into being in the depths of his mind; and soon he has to begin to defend them; and then again a further process must take place, of analysing his statements and ascertaining their dependence one on another. And thus he is led to regard as conse-

quences, and to trace to principles, what hitherto he has discerned by a moral perception, and adopted on sympathy: and logic is brought in to arrange and inculcate what no science was employed in gaining.”—(pp. 80, 81.)

The sixth test is *Preservative Additions*.

“A true development may be described as one which is conservative of the course of development which went before it, which is that development and something besides: it is an addition which illustrates, not obscures, corroborates, not corrupts, the body of thought from which it proceeds; and this is its characteristic as contrasted with a corruption.

“For instance, a gradual conversion from a false to a true religion, plainly, has much of the character of a continuous process, or a development, in the mind itself, even when the two religions, which are the limits of its course, are antagonist. Now let it be observed, that such a change consists in addition and increase chiefly, not in destruction.”—(pp. 87, 88.)

The seventh test is *Chronic Continuance*. A corruption is distinguished from true development by its *transitory character*. pp. 90—93.

I have but one remark to make on this section. Mr. Newman confesses that the knowledge of the essential idea, the type of Christianity, is necessary, or at all events would be most convenient, for the purpose of studying the actual history of Christianity*. He confesses also that he cannot arrive at this type or leading idea, except by looking at those very developments, the soundness and faithfulness of which are to be ascertained by help of it. The further we advance in the book, the more continually will this strange contradiction be forcing itself upon our notice.

* It is obvious that Mr. Newman does not use ‘Idea’ here in his own sense, but nearly in mine.

The third Chapter is divided into two Sections. The first treats of the antecedent Probability of Developments in Christianity.

1. The more claim an idea has to be considered living, the more various will be its aspects; and the more social and political is its nature, the more complicated and subtle will be its developments, and the longer and more eventful will be its course. p. 95.

(a) The Holy Scriptures cannot be said at once to determine the Christian doctrine without further trouble. They were intended to create an idea, and that idea is not in the sacred text, but in the mind of the reader; and the question is, whether that idea is communicated to him in all completeness and minute accuracy, on its first apprehension, or expands in his heart and intellect, and comes to perfection in the course of time. p. 95.

2. If Christianity be an universal religion, suited not to one locality or period, but to all times and places it cannot but vary in its relations and dealings towards the world around it. p. 96.

3. When we consider the doctrines on which the Scripture lays the greatest stress, we see that it is impossible for them to remain in the mere letter of Scripture, if they are to be more than mere words, or to convey a definite idea to the recipient. "The Word became flesh." Three questions arise, What is meant by the Word; What by flesh; What by 'became?' The answers involve a process of investigation, and are developments. p. 98.

4. Questions arise on the subject-matter of which Scripture treats, which Scripture does not solve;

questions which must be answered, unless we suppose a new revelation, from the revelation which we have, that is by development,—*e.g.* the question of the canon of Scripture and its inspiration. p. 98.

5. The method of revelation observed in Scripture, confirms this anticipation. The earlier prophecies are pregnant texts out of which the succeeding announcements grew ; they are types. p. 102.

6. “It is in point to notice also the structure and style of Scripture, a structure so unsystematic and various, and a style so figurative and indirect, that no one would presume at first sight to say what is in it, and what is not. It cannot, as it were, be mapped, or its contents catalogued ; but after all our diligence, to the end of our lives and to the end of the Church, it must be an unexplored and unsubdued land, with heights and valleys, forests and streams, on the right and left of our path and close about us, full of concealed wonders and choice treasures.”—(p. 110.)

7. Scripture anticipates the development of Christianity, both as a polity and as a doctrine,—*e.g.* the parable of the mustard-seed, of the good and bad seed, of the leaven. p. 112.

1. (a) “The Scriptures were intended to create an idea ; and that idea is not in the sacred text, but in the mind of the reader.” Every one, I think, will be startled by this language ; yet when we come to consider it, we may think we had no right to be startled ; that it is reasonable language enough. An ‘habitual judgment’ or conviction can only dwell in the mind ; it must be imparted, or, as Mr. Newman says, created there. Still I am inclined to attach some worth to starts ; they are not arguments ; they confute nothing ; if we make them excuses for condemning others, we shall be continually uncharitable ; if we make them a

standard of our own thoughts and acts, we shall be continually false. But they have their appointed function. They may be throbs of conscience, demurrers on the part of the moral nature to some conclusion of the intellect, which the intellect is meant to heed, and which it may be ultimately better for itself and its own clearness that it should heed.

The reverent reader of Scripture, be he Romanist or Protestant, does, I believe, think that the idea which he receives from Scripture is not merely in his mind ; that it is also in the text. He may be wrong ; but the feeling is so much a part of himself, it is such ‘an habitual judgment’ that he must not hastily part with it lest he should substitute a ‘corruption’ for ‘a faithful development.’ While questioning himself as to the accuracy of the old or new expression, he will, I should think, dwell a little on the word ‘Revelation’—a word common to Mr. Newman and himself. He may be inclined to say : Does that word mean ‘creation ?’ Suppose Revelation does create, is there nothing else that it does first and more characteristically ? Does it not signify ‘lifting off a veil’ ? Does it not seem to intimate the disclosure of that which is ; *this*, rather than the formation or production of anything which previously was not ? How may this sense be reconciled with Mr. Newman’s ? If I really believed that the Lord of all was himself lifting up the veil ; was disclosing Himself to a creature formed in his image ; was thereby awakening that creature to know what it is ; to understand itself in its relation to Him, I should have no difficulty in admitting that he who receives the Revelation, has that called into life, in his mind, which was before “without form, and void :”

but I should not admit that this was something merely belonging to that mind ; that the man could ever claim it or appropriate it as his idea. In so far as he really has it, he will say, 'It is not mine, I have been enabled to perceive an eternal truth ; to acknowledge One above me to whom I stand in a direct awful relation ; a relation of which He only could give me this glimpse ; which He only can unfold to me, and probably will unfold, by very gradual methods. This is worth all the world to me ; this is a pearl for the sake of which I may well be content to sell all things : but the treasure is not committed to me ; it is not in my keeping ; it is of such a nature that I can only participate in it ; I must recognize the Light as being distinct from me, and then, and then only, in that Light I shall see light.'

I feel the inadequacy of these expressions ; I tremble lest I should seem to be contending for a peculiar terminology. For, indeed, I am contending for that which I believe is the faith of all simple and childlike people ; I am trying, in blundering language, to utter that which they embody in homely, honest phrases of the heart ; I know inwardly, and God knows, how gladly I would learn of them and be as they are ; but if that may not be, or may only be granted hereafter as a reward of fighting with the temptations of a confused world and an evil heart, I will, at least, strive that they shall not be robbed of that which is most dear to them by a philosophical jargon—which, as it seems to me, is most unphilosophical.

For this is precisely the ground on which I take my stand. Mr. Newman affirms that there is an antece-

dent probability of developments in Christianity. He grounds this probability especially upon the intended universality of the Gospel, and upon the method, the developing method, of Scripture itself. He had admitted that, in order to test whether any developments we find are true or no, developments or corruptions of Christianity, we ought to know the primary idea, the type of Christianity. He had admitted as distinctly, that it is difficult, next to impossible, to ascertain this leading idea or type. He had admitted that we ought further to know the law of developments; not only the starting point of them, but the principle upon which they work. Now then, I ask, whether, if there be such a book as that which he speaks of, there be not an antecedent probability that it would unfold that primary idea which he needs and yet denounces men for venturing to seek; that it would explain that law, or method of developments, which, he says, it exhibits so remarkably; and so that it would save us from the monstrous contradiction of looking into the history itself for that with which it is to be compared, and by which it is to be judged. I am not saying now, that the Bible does in fact fulfil this office; that, I hope to shew hereafter. We are now, remember, in the region of 'antecedent probabilities'; and I ask, first, if you attached that kind of importance, which Mr. Newman does attach, to the Scriptural revelation, would not you say it must do this, or something like this; secondly, whether there is any antecedent improbability, that the Bible should not be of any great help to those who—instead of asking it to fulfil this function, to interpret to them themselves, their relation to their fellow-men, their

relation to God, and the course of his dealings with our race—fancy it to be a collection of notions and opinions about certain great subjects, which notions and opinions they must gather out, dried and dead, from its series of living records, either by their own ingenuity, or under some absolute authority?

This question introduces us to the second section of this chapter: "On the Probability of a Developing Authority in Christianity."

The case is stated thus:

"Tests for ascertaining the correctness of developments in general have been drawn out in a former chapter, and shall presently be used; but they are insufficient for the guidance of individuals in the case of so large and complicated a problem as Christianity, though they may aid our inquiries and support our conclusions in particular points. They are of a scientific and controversial, not of a practical character, and are instruments rather than warrants of right decisions. While, then, on the one hand, it is probable that some means will be granted for ascertaining the legitimate and true developments of Revelation, it appears, on the other, that these means must of necessity be external to the developments themselves.

"Reasons shall be given in the present section for asserting that, in proportion to the probability of true developments of doctrine and practice in the Divine Scheme, is the probability also of the appointment in that scheme of an external authority to decide upon them, thereby separating them from the mass of mere human speculation, extravagance, corruption, and error, in and out of which they grow. This is the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church; for by infallibility I suppose is meant the power of deciding whether this, that, and a third, and any number of theological or ethical statements are true."

—(p. 117.)

The object of the argument is chiefly to rebut certain objections to the doctrine of Infallibility which had been raised by Mr. Newman himself in a former work, and to shew that every presumption is in favour of it.

1. The first of these objections is, that as all religious knowledge rests on moral evidence, not on demonstration, our belief in the Church's infallibility must be of this character. But what can be more absurd than a probable infallibility, or an infallibility resting on doubt? Answer: This argument tells as much against the infallibility of the Apostles or of Scripture, as of the Church; for we are only morally certain that they are infallible. In fact, if this principle is to hold, the words infallibility, necessity, truth and certainty, ought to be banished from the language. pp. 119, 120.

2. The second objection is, that such a development will destroy our probation—as dissipating doubt, precluding the exercise of faith, obliging us to obey whether we will or no. A divine voice spoke in the first age; difficulty and darkness rest upon all subsequent ones. Answer: Ignorance, misapprehension, unbelief, and other causes do not cease to operate, because the Revelation is in itself true, and its proofs irrefragable. Neither does infallibility interfere with moral probation. It is no objection to the idea of an arbitrary authority that it lessens the task of present enquiry, unless it be an objection to the authority of Revelation altogether. pp. 120—122.

3. The third objection is, that the analogy of nature does not warrant us in expecting the continuance of an external authority which has once been given; for, in the words of Butler, 'we are wholly ignorant what

degree of new knowledge it was to be expected God would give mankind by Revelation upon supposition of his affording one—or how far, and in what way, He would interpose miraculously to qualify those to whom He should originally make the Revelation for communicating the knowledge given by it, and to secure their doing it to the age in which they should live, and to secure its being transmitted to posterity.’ The answer is : that this reasoning contemplates only the abstract possibility of a revelation, not the fact of an existing revelation of a particular kind ; that the argument from analogy, in one point of view, tells against anticipating a revelation at all, for an innovation of the physical order of the world is, by the very force of the terms, inconsistent with its ordinary course ; that analogy, in fact, applies to the principles of revelation which are common to all the works of God, not to its facts, which are special and singular. Supposing the order of nature once broken by a revelation, the continuance of that revelation is but a question of degree. We have no reason to suppose that there is so great a distinction of dispensation between us and the first generation of Christians, that they had a living infallible guidance, and we have not. Revelation has introduced a new law of divine governance over and above those which appear in the natural course of the world, and we may henceforth argue for a standing authority in matters of faith on the analogy of nature, and from the fact of Christianity. Preservation is included in the idea of creation. As the Creator rested on the seventh day from the work which He had made, yet He worketh hitherto, so He gave the Creed once for all in the beginning,

the growth, and dispenses its increase.
 The argument argues continual governance, so are Apostles
 the Authority of Popes. pp. 123, 124.

This is the general argument, but I must extract
 some very important passages before making any
 remarks.

"Moreover, it must be borne in mind that, as the
 essence of all religion is authority and obedience, so the
 distinction between natural religion and revealed lies in
 this, that the one has a subjective authority, and the other
 an objective. Revelation consists in the manifestation of
 the Invisible Divine Power, or in the substitution of the
 voice of a Lawgiver for the voice of conscience. The
 supremacy of conscience is the essence of natural religion;
 the supremacy of Apostle, or Pope, or Church, or Bishop, is
 the essence of revealed; and when such external authority
 is taken away, the mind falls back again upon that inward
 guide which it possessed even before Revelation was vouch-
 safed. Thus, what conscience is in the system of nature,
 such is the voice of Scripture, or of the Church, or of the
 Holy See, as we may determine it, in the system of Revela-
 tion. It may be objected, indeed, that conscience is not
 infallible; it is true, but still it is ever to be obeyed. And
 this is just the prerogative which controversialists assign to
 the See of St. Peter; it is not in all cases infallible, it may
 err beyond its special province, but it has even in all cases
 a claim on our obedience."—(pp. 124, 125.)

"The common sense of mankind does but support a
 conclusion thus forced upon us by analogical considera-
 tions. It feels that the very idea of revelation implies a
 present informant and guide, and that an infallible one;
 not a mere abstract declaration of truths not known before
 to man, or a record of history, or the result of an anti-
 quarian research, but a message and a lesson speaking to
 this man and that. This is shown by the popular notion
 which has prevailed among us since the Reformation, that

the Bible itself is such a guide; and which succeeded in overthrowing the supremacy of Church and Pope, for the very reason that it was a rival authority, not resisting merely, but supplanting it. In proportion, then, as we find, in matter of fact, that the inspired Volume is not calculated or intended to subserve that purpose, are we forced to revert to that living and present guide, which, at the era of her rejection, had been so long recognised as the dispenser of Scripture according to times and circumstances, and the arbiter of all true doctrine and holy practice to her children. We feel a need, and she alone of all things under heaven supplies it. We are told that God has spoken. Where? In a book? We have tried it, and it disappoints; it disappoints, that most holy and blessed gift, not from fault of its own, but because it is used for a purpose for which it was not given. The Ethiopian's reply, when St. Philip asked him if he understood what he was reading, is the voice of nature: 'How can I, unless some man shall guide me?' The Church undertakes that office; she does what none else can do, and this is the secret of the power."—(pp. 125, 126.)

"If Christianity is both social and dogmatic, and intended for all ages, it must, humanly speaking, have an infallible expounder. Else you will secure unity of form at the loss of unity of doctrine, or unity of doctrine at the loss of unity of form; you will have to choose between a comprehension of opinions and a resolution into parties, between latitudinarian and sectarian error; you may be tolerant or intolerant of contrarieties of thought, but contrarieties you will have. By the Church of England a hollow uniformity is preferred to an infallible chair; and by the sects of England, an interminable division. Germany and Geneva began with persecution, and have ended in scepticism. The doctrine of infallibility is a less violent hypothesis than this sacrifice either of faith or of charity. It secures the objects, without, to say the least, violating the letter of the revelation."—(pp. 128, 129.)

"Some hypothesis all parties, all controversialists, all historians must adopt, if they would treat of Christianity at all. Gieseler's 'Text Book' bears the profession of being a dry analysis of Christian history; yet on inspection it will be found to be written on a positive and definite theory, and to bend facts to meet it. An unbeliever, as Gibbon, assumes one hypothesis, and an Ultra-montane, as Baronius, adopts another. The school of Hurd and Newton consider that Christianity slept for centuries upon centuries, except among those whom historians call heretics. Others speak as if the oath of Supremacy or the *congé d'élire* could be made the measure of St. Ambrose, and they fit the Thirty-nine Articles on the fervid Tertullian. The question is, which of all these theories is the simplest, the most natural, the most persuasive. Certainly the notion of development under infallible authority is not a less grave, a less winning hypothesis, than the chance and coincidence of events, or the Oriental Philosophy, or the working of Antichrist, to account for the rise of Christianity and the formation of its theology."—(pp. 129, 130.)

Before I say one other word upon this—the most practically important section in the book—let me express my great satisfaction at Mr. Newman's answer to the arguments in the work on the Prophetic Office of the Church. Having exceedingly disliked those arguments when I read them nine years ago, I am not perhaps a fair judge; but to me it seems that he has most clearly, decisively, and for ever removed them out of the way of the Roman controversialist. The wonder was, how Mr. Newman could rest for so long in a theory which identified faith with the willing endurance of doubt and confusion; which must have left the impression deeply fixed on numbers of minds, that a living voice had spoken in the old time, and that since, only faint echoes of it are to be heard

in tomes of divinity ; which made it seem indeed probable that the words "truth, certainty, necessity, ought to be banished from the language." That he should have fled—that numbers should have fled with him—out of so icy and dreary a region of notions and probabilities, into that which at all events has the appearance of humanity and fixedness, ought not to surprise us. I am not willing to recognise in that desertion, a proof that their hearts are become less English : I rather think that the practical spirit which is so especially English, the elements of English feeling and heart, which lay hid beneath these phantoms, alone made them endurable, and at last threw them off. Our divinity must be made of stouter, if it be of coarser, stuff than this.

Most heartily then do I agree with Mr. Newman, that we need an authority the same in kind with that which the first ages had—that it cannot be less real or less effectual now than it was then—that such an authority cannot interfere with moral responsibility, but is the very condition of its right exercise—that the denial of it by a number of men, or by a majority of men, would not shew that it had ceased to exist, or that they were not influenced by it, or that they ought not to have wholly submitted to it. I admit that this authority must be personal—that no mere book, be it ever so divine a book, is of itself sufficient—that no collection of books can by any comments or illustrations help out the inadequacy of that one. I admit that this personal authority must be infallible—that it must be One, cannot be different for each individual man, though it must speak to the wants and circumstances of each individual man.

I believe this upon the testimony of the Bible; under the teaching of the Bible I think we may trace this authority through all periods, may see how it has marked out the line between developments and corruptions.

That these propositions may be intelligible, I will recur again to that word Revelation, which is so often used in this section of Mr. Newman's book. I find considerable difficulty in ascertaining what precise sense he attaches to it. In one place he speaks of Revelation as being "an innovation upon the physical order of the world." In another, of its "introducing a new law of Divine Governance;" in a third, of "its consisting of the manifestation of the Invisible Divine Power;" in the same sentence, as consisting "in the substitution of the voice of a lawgiver for the voice of conscience." If we take the third of these definitions, which seems to me a very excellent one, I do not see how we shall be able to justify the others from the charge of being, at all events, very obscure, and of conveying a false impression, if they do not contain a false statement. The manifestation of the invisible Divine Power cannot surely "introduce a new law of Divine Governance, over and above pre-existing laws." It can only shew what that power is which has made these laws, and is directing their operation. The manifestation of the Divine Power cannot break the order of nature; it can only shew that nature is not a mere machine or system, that there is One who governs it. But lastly, and above all, the manifestation of the invisible Divine Power cannot substitute the voice of a lawgiver for the voice of conscience—

but must tell conscience what it means—must interpret it to itself. For did the conscience of men in any age speak of itself? Did it not speak of a lawgiver? Has the word any significance except in the recognition of some one who is speaking to us, and whom we are meant to obey? Is conscience a Lord, or does it confess a Lord? Let every one ask himself the question solemnly and earnestly; let him then ask the history of mankind the same question, and see whether it do not give the same answer. That answer may perhaps remove from his mind great heaps of metaphysical rubbish; it may be the means of bringing him back to ancient simplicity, yet with the power of understanding a great many modern perplexities.

But if this be the case, if the physical order of the world has always been felt by men to presume a living Author whom it does not make known; if the conscience of man witnesses to this living Being, as speaking directly to it, as being more nearly related to it than to nature—so that, in fact, its testimony is the ground of that belief respecting nature, which ceases when the conscience is not alive to its own necessities;—if the conscience is dark and confused just because the man cannot distinguish the voice which he hears speaking to him and commanding him, from his own cries for it, or muttered responses to it;—how strange is the language of Mr. Newman, that “what conscience is in the system of nature, such is the voice of Scripture, or of the Church, or of the Holy See, as we may determine it, in the system of Revelation.” What means this strange pantheistical phraseology,—“conscience in the system

of nature"? What has conscience to do with any system of nature? Is it not the witness to every man that there is something within him which is above nature, which has to do with a direct personal Being, who may be the ruler of nature, but who is first of all the ruler of himself? And what is this system of Revelation which sets up Scripture, or Church, or Holy See, in the place of conscience? not certainly the Bible which we possess, for that speaks of God Himself; it manifests, as Mr. Newman speaks, the invisible Divine Power, the real Lord of nature, the real Lord of man. It brings Him livingly, personally, directly before His creature; says to the conscience, "This is He whose voice you have heard, This is He whom you are to obey. None but He, the living God, can satisfy the cravings of that spirit of yours, which He has himself created. Kings, prophets, priests—the law which came forth from His own lips—are nothing but as they are His spokesmen. If they are put in place of Him, if they fancy they are speaking instead of Him, conscience will not own them. They may claim a dominion, but it will be over something else than that. Least of all, may the conscience set itself up against Him, pretending to have some supremacy of its own; and so, belying that witness of obedience and subjection which is its first and most essential witness."

This, I think, is the principle of the Bible, the principle which goes through every part of it, that the unseen God is actually ruling over men; that all orders of men are appointed by Him, and are ruling under Him; that just so far as they know this, and live and act in the faith of it, they are doing

their right work in the world, are helping to expound the laws and principles of the Divine Government, are helping to bring man into that service which is freedom. And that just so far as they are not doing this, but are setting up their own power and authority, and are working as parts of a system instead of working as the servants of the living God, just so far are they false kings, and false priests, and false prophets—misunderstanding the blessed order in which they are placed—and hastening the dissolution of all that in it which can be dissolved; though because God is, and His purposes cannot change, that dissolution is itself but the instrument of bringing out with greater clearness the real eternal principles of this order.

Now, this statement may seem to Mr. Newman, and to a great many others, a mere vague repetition of what they have heard often before; of what they have sneered at, and dismissed from their minds, as quite unsatisfactory and unmeaning. I am content that it should be so. But I am sure that this which they reject is still the simple faith of hundreds of poor men and women in all countries of the world, Romish as well as Protestant. I am sure that they have a belief, a very deep-rooted practical belief, that the Bible sets forth God as actually speaking to men, as actually ruling in the midst of them. I am sure that they have no doubt that what was true in the old time is true now; and that neither Scripture, nor Conscience, nor Church, nor Holy See, deeply and profoundly as they may reverence one or all, would seem to them worth anything—the least comfort in their own sorrows, the least relief from the sense of

xxxviii DIVINE GOVERNMENT NOT EXTERNAL.

the misery and curse of the world, if they did not think that the living God was teaching them, and disciplining them, and holding converse with them ; and that the whole course of society, amidst all its strange contradictions, is as much testifying of His presence as it did when the manna fell from heaven. And it seems to me that we are arrived at a time when theologians must come to an understanding with these simple people, when we must tell them plainly and straightly whether we mean the same thing as they do or not ; whether our divinity is the assertion of the living God and of His presence among men, or a substitute for that assertion ; whether, when we use the phrases of Scripture, we attach significance to those phrases, or merely look upon them as belonging to another period of the world. I do answer for myself, that I look upon the language of Scripture as the simplest, truest, most reasonable language of all that has ever been uttered ; that I believe it tells us not merely who sent plagues upon Egypt, but who sends plagues now, and why He sends them : not merely what prophets and kings and priests were in the old time, but what they are now, and how He speaks in them. That they do not only shew how He taught the prophets of old to separate between the precious and the vile in themselves, and to understand those judgments of His, by which He separated between what was precious and vile in the nation : but that He has taught men in all times, and will teach all who humbly desire his aid now, first, to recognise that great battle between the flesh and the Spirit in themselves, then, if that be their vocation, to trace it in history. For, as there seems

a huge antecedent probability that God having revealed Himself as the ruler of all men and all things once—having shewn by whom prophets speak, and kings reign, would not cease to exercise the government which He had declared was his, or would not exercise it under different laws ; so there is an almost equally strong antecedent probability that the conflict between good and evil would not cease, or would not take a form in the later time altogether different from that which it took in the earlier. If *then* this battle went on, not only between the chosen people and the other nations, but in the chosen people itself, it was not likely that any body of men in after ages would be free from it. If it went on not only between the good and evil men in the chosen body, but in the hearts of the best men among them, it was probable that this too would be the case in the coming times. It was probable, therefore, that in the same society there would be a clearer unfolding of some great truth, and at the same time a greater darkening and enveloping of this same truth under the shadows of earth, and the corruptions of the flesh. It was probable that the same process would go on in the minds of individual men—that they would bring out truth and darken it, seize hold of one portion of it with wonderful power, and almost lose sight of another ; that so they would beget sects and heresies, and sustain them by the holiness of their lives and the truths which they had been permitted to testify for. All this is antecedently probable. But it is certain, if the scripture revelation be true, that there would be a developing authority in the midst of all ; that He would raise up different instruments

in one age or in another to fulfil His purposes, and would endue them with all powers of discrimination necessary for this particular end. Equally certain, that oftentimes it would not be so much by the agency of men as by fearful historical crises, that He would make His purposes evident and confound the counterfeits of them.

Now history, read under this conviction, may, I believe, become gradually a very luminous document; and the question is, whether the substitution of any theory,—be it of the influence of oriental philosophy—be it that the pope is antichrist—be it that the pope is the developing authority in the church,—is not one which forces history into a certain shape; prevents us from looking at it as the actual record of God's dealings with the world; prevents us from applying the maxims and precedents of Scripture to the consideration of it. He who considers it in the spirit I have supposed, must, of course, take account of the effects of Oriental Philosophy, and of all other philosophies, and of all thoughts or feelings which have manifestly acted upon the church from within or without. He could no more pass these over than he could pass over the influence of Egypt and Phœnicia, or Solomon's commerce, or the separation of the tribes, upon the ancient people. But he could no more turn the Oriental Philosophy into a law for determining the state and doctrine of the church in all periods, than he could trace up the whole history of Israel to Phœnicia or Egypt, or the commerce of Solomon. He may recognise an antichristian principle at work in the Church; he may even consider the papal principle in its full development as that principle; and yet

believe that he should be twisting Scripture irreverently and modern history unrighteously, if he pretended to deduce from the one, or to find in the other, evidence that the latent evil principle of the papacy had been manifested throughout its continuance in an antichristian form, or that a good principle had not struggled with it, and at times been the predominant one. Even if he felt that he could draw out the parallel between it and the Babylonian government of old strictly ; even if he were not compelled by Scripture to acknowledge that a Babylon in the Church, if it be *worse* than one formally opposed to it, is not the same with that ; still the language of the Bible respecting Nebuchadnezzar would prevent him from concluding that this government was, in all its periods, viewed as in the same degree antagonistic to the divine polity. Lastly, he may admit that popes have been instruments in the hands of the Divine Ruler for bringing to light, establishing, and propagating great truths ; that their influence has often been exerted to distinguish truth from falsehood—what Mr. Newman would call a faithful development from a corruption ; that in the course of ages it was part of the Divine purpose, that the Latin kingdoms should exercise a very peculiar influence over the destinies of the world, and should, in an especial manner, present the form of a Christendom to the different portions of it ; that the position of the bishop of Rome did help to make the reality of a Christendom more manifest, and that he had a special, most awful, most responsible stewardship entrusted to him, in the discharge of which, it is mere arrogance, party-spirit, and contempt of history, to say he was not

often in the main faithful ; a daring intrusion upon God's judgment to assign, in each individual case, the limits of fidelity or infidelity. But all these admissions, so far from approaching one step towards the notion of Mr. Newman, that the true Lord delegated his developing authority, tend, far more than the opinions which I have repudiated, to set that notion utterly at nought. For my complaint against the (so-called) Protestant hypothesis is, that it interferes with the free, honest, study of God's ways to mankind, with the full, clear, scriptural acknowledgement of His government over the Church. Once adopt Mr. Newman's hypothesis, and the belief of this living Divine Government is at an end. He finds an established system, not indeed a dead system, but a living one—such a one as the author of the *Vestiges of Creation* recognises the system of nature to be—a system of generative powers, vital energies, in unceasing movement and operation, with a correcting power, like that which Mr. Babbage says resides in his machine, gradually evolving itself in the course of these workings, and, no doubt, contemplated from the first by the great Demiurgus. This is his hypothesis to explain, not the physical world, but the life and history of man ; not of man only considered as dwelling in some outward circle, but of man brought into the family of God ! This hypothesis is to be the substitute for the unbelief of Protestantism, for the coldness of Anglicanism ;—this is to teach us what the Church really means !

I am confident that not Calvin, or Luther, or Jewel alone, would have resisted this doctrine, but that every saint in the Romish calendar, every Christian

doctor of the middle ages, every pope who had any feeling of his vocation, would, in his deepest heart, have said 'Anathema' to it. The faith of these men, the one faith which supported them through death, and enabled them to bear life, was this, that they were not parts of a machine; not the tools and instruments of a system, but God's own ministers waiting upon him, and fulfilling his work. They may have held this belief inconsistently; may very often have rebelled against it in their acts; but it never forsook them. If at one moment they seemed to speak of pope and priesthood as delegates of God, the next they would suppose a miracle for the very purpose of proving that He was still acting Himself. Their very confusions in some degree rectified each other; shewed, at all events, how intolerable to them would have been the thought of a Church turned adrift to be the substitute for a Divine Being, instead of His organ—to perform his functions, instead of being the perpetual witness that He is living and ruling in the midst of it. And I am sure, from a multitude of passages in this book, if it were not proved by the tenor of his life, that such a notion would be unutterably agonizing to Mr. Newman, if it did present itself clearly, nakedly before him. I think he would say at once, 'However clear and impregnable this logic seems to me, there must be something fearfully wrong in it if this be the result. I was bound to follow it out, no doubt, whether it led me to Protestantism, Romanism, Quakerism, Mahometanism; but if Atheism lurk in it—what then? Must I not, at least, go over the steps of it again; must I not ask if there was nothing false in some of the first pre-

mises?' And thoroughly as I believe that the devotion of Mr. Newman's heart will, by some process or other, be the means of delivering him from this conclusion of his understanding, or of making it harmless, I cannot delude myself into the hope that the same will be the issue in all cases. I fear that there are not a few young men who are flying to the belief in an infallible pope, because they have not courage to ask themselves whether they believe in an Infallible God. The question of our day—we shall find it so more and more—is really between God and Atheism, much more than between Protestantism and Romanism. Let us understand this state of things well; it may make us more reverent and fearful ourselves—more earnest and yet much more gentle in our treatment of others.

Of the next Chapter, I can only give a brief account. It treats of the "Nature of the argument for the existing developments of Christianity."

In the first section the author urges the "preponderating force of antecedent probability in all cases where it exists; supposing it very great it almost dispenses with evidence altogether."

"If then we are convinced that the idea of Christianity, as originally revealed, cannot but develop, and know, on the other hand, that large developments do exist, in matter of fact, professing to be true and legitimate, our first impression naturally must be that these developments are what they pretend to be. Moreover, the very scale on which they have been made, their high antiquity yet present promise, their gradual formation yet precision, their harmonious order, affect the imagination most forcibly

towards the belief that a teaching so young and so old, not obsolete after so many centuries, but vigorous and progressive, is the very development contemplated in the Divine Scheme. And then we have to consider that from first to last other developments there are none, except those which have possession of Christendom; none, that is, of prominence and permanence sufficient to deserve the name.”—(p. 135.)

“A further presumption arises from the general opinion of the world about them.” “The system is confessed to bear a character of integrity and indivisibility upon it, both on first view and on inspection.” “No one doubts that the Roman Catholic communion of this day is the representative of the mediæval Church, or that the mediæval is the legitimate heir of the Nicene.” (pp. 136—138.)

In the second section he shows that a collection of various seemingly unimportant points of evidence from various sources is often of more weight than direct formal testimony. (pp. 139—146.)

In the third, he contends that “whenever a doctrine comes recommended to us by strong presumption of its truth, we are bound to receive it unsuspectingly, and to use it as a key to the evidences to which it appeals, or the facts which it professes to systematise, whatever may be our ultimate judgment respecting it.” p. 157. This method he justifies by quotations from Bishop Butler and Mr. Davison; who charge infidels with unfairness for arguing that, if a number of divided arguments be inconclusive one by one, they constitute a series of exceptions to the truth of religion, instead of a train of favourable presumptions growing stronger at each step. (pp. 146—157).

In the fourth section, he argues that Bull, in his

treatment of the Ante-Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, writers on the canon, defenders of the communion in one kind, and defenders of the papal supremacy,—all act upon the same reasonable principle of using the clear light of the fourth and fifth centuries to illustrate the dim notices of the preceding. (pp. 158—179.)

In the fifth section, he maintains that Bacon's doctrine of rejecting presumptions is only applicable to physics; that Gibbon, Niebuhr, the Bishop of St. David's, all recognise the great worth and authority of presumptions in arriving at the knowledge of facts; that Mosheim and Gieseler, in their Church histories, resort to them also for the purpose of rebutting the evidence for Romish doctrines. (pp. 179—202.)

The worth of antecedent probability I have fully admitted. For I have contended first, that there is an antecedent probability that there would be some means of discovering the Leading Idea of Christianity, and that the Scriptures would be that means; secondly, that there is an antecedent probability, from what we know of Scripture and history, that when 'large developments do exist as matters of fact,' some of these will be corruptions or fleshly developments. Both probabilities will, I think, receive illustration from the kind of evidence which Mr. Newman does, and from that which he does not, produce. To the remarks on the value of presumptive evidence I can make no objection; they are familiar to every one who has devoted any attention to the subject, but they are expressed here in a clear and striking manner.

The principle, that we cannot understand the meaning of an earlier age except by the light of a

later one, is also very important. I ventured to apply it in my remarks on the last chapter, when I affirmed that the idea of the Popedom as a substitute for the actual government of God was latent for many ages, and could only be thoroughly understood by the use which is made of this idea in our own day.

Mr. Newman's attempt to remove the weight of Bacon's authority against presumptions, seems to me very unnecessary, and in the manner of it very unfortunate. Bacon's objection, if I understand him, is not to that kind of presumption in physical investigations which Niebuhr and the Bishop of St. David's have applied to historical investigation. His method is not different from theirs, but the same. The least hint or fragment of evidence, the most seemingly unimportant hint he would allow the student, in one department as much as another, to take hold of and follow out. The divination and foresight of the man of genius, he would not, in any wise, have rejected; for *that* divination is always ready to use the strictest method in ascertaining the reality of its own expectations. What Bacon, as I have already remarked, desired was, that the student should not see an image of himself in the facts he was studying, that he should try to find out what they meant in themselves. I apprehend he would have wished us either in reading nature or history, to take just what we can get; hints, probabilities of the lowest degree, if nothing else is to be had; but he would not permit any one to overlook facts, or prefer the less to the more significant, for the sake of bringing out a theory more successfully.

It may be asked, "Where was the necessity for

this chapter?" All Mr. Newman's doctrine about the nature of evidence may be granted. It is, as he says himself, common to him with those who are most at variance with him. Were more than sixty octavo pages required to prove points which seem not to advance the argument one step? I answer, Let no man hastily suspect Mr. Newman of spending time or paper without a reason. He perfectly understands his own cause; and he must be an ingenious counsellor who could suggest any great improvement in his manner of conducting it. Above all, these sixty pages have not been injudiciously thrown in, however superfluous they may seem to the mere careless reader. They are a most useful break or interlude to prepare us for that which follows. If we had been all at once ushered into the argument of the fourth chapter, the shock would have been painful. Mr. Newman is about to shew that the essential idea of Christianity is found in the later Romish developments. Now we might have been ready to grant, without trouble, the antecedent probability, that there would be a connection between these developments and this idea; we might have permitted him by gathering together any, even the minutest points of presumption, to shew what the connection is. But this is not enough for his necessities. The problem is not this; A and C the extremes of a series being given: to find B the middle term of it. *A is not given*. The essential idea, Mr. Newman has again and again told us, is not forthcoming,—the search for it is as ridiculous as for a golden mountain. This chapter on Presumptions, needless for any other purpose, is to school us gently not to receive hints and

conjectures and guesses respecting the relation between the idea and the development; but hints and conjectures and guesses respecting the *idea itself*.

The truth of this statement is evident from the opening paragraphs of the first section of the next Chapter.

"It was said, then, that a true development retains the *essential idea* of the subject from which it has proceeded, and a corruption loses it. What then is the true idea of Christianity? and is it preserved in the developments commonly called Catholic, and in the Church which embodies and teaches them?

"Here, it must be observed, according to a foregoing remark, that the forms and types of divine creations are not, strictly speaking, ascertainable; they are facts. No one can define an oak, or an eagle, or a lion, or any other of the objects which arrest us, and which we gaze upon externally. We can but describe them. We multiply properties or qualities which attach to them, and thereby impress upon the mind analytically an image of that which we cannot philosophically express. Let us now pursue the same way with the Church."—(p. 204.)

What is this way? Mr. Newman quotes passages from Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, in which Christianity is described as *superstitio exitiabilis*, *superstitio nova et malefica*, *superstitio prava et immodica*. He then enters into an elaborate account of the oriental superstitions which prevailed in the empire during the first century; points out the difference between the light and cheerful religion of the Greeks, from which the Roman was derived, and the dark foreign ceremonies of the Syrian and the Egyptian.

With these the Church was evidently connected by those who observed her in her earliest years. They saw something in her character which struck them as

exceedingly like all these superstitions ; something which seemed to them especially secret and gloomy, and dangerous in all her observances. The Gnostics arose soon after ; here is another step in the evidence. In all the different forms which Gnosticism assumed, it had evidently an inward relation to, in many of them a direct historical connection with, the oriental notions and practices. Christianity was confounded with Gnosticism in the latter part of the Ante-Nicene period, as it was with the darker Pagan mysteries in the earlier. A mass of evidence is then produced to prove the ever-increasing dread which the Roman state felt of the Christians as a secret society during the first three centuries ;—one, incompatible with the safety of the empire. (pp. 204—207.)

Mr. Newman himself shall sum up the evidence.

“In these testimonies, which will form a natural and convenient text for what is to follow, we have various characteristics brought before us of the religion to which they relate. It was a superstition, as all three writers agree ; a bad and excessive superstition, according to Pliny ; a magical superstition, according to Suetonius ; a deadly superstition, according to Tacitus. Next, it was embodied in a society, and moreover a secret and unlawful society or *hetæria* ; and it was a proselytizing society ; and its very name was connected with ‘flagitious,’ ‘atrocious,’ and ‘shocking’ acts.

“Now these few points, which are not all which might be set down, contain in themselves a distinct and significant description of Christianity ; but they have far greater meaning when illustrated by the history of the times, the testimony of later writers, and the acts of the Roman government towards its professors. It is impossible to mistake the judgment passed on the religion by these three writers, and still more clearly by other writers and Imperial functionaries. They evidently associated Christianity with

the oriental superstitions, whether propagated by individuals or embodied in a rite, which were in that day traversing the Empire, and which in the event acted so remarkable a part in breaking up the national forms of worship, and so in preparing the way for Christianity. This, then, is the broad view which the educated heathen took of Christianity; and, if it had been very unlike those rites and curious arts in external appearance, they would not have confused it with them.”—(pp. 207, 208.)

“Such was Christianity in the eyes of those who witnessed its rise and propagation;—one of a number of wild and barbarous rites which were pouring in upon the Empire from the ancient realms of superstition, and the mother of a progeny of sects which were faithful to the original they had derived from Egypt or Syria; a religion unworthy an educated person, as appealing not to the intellect but to the fears and weaknesses of human nature, and consisting, not in the rational and cheerful enjoyment, but in a morose rejection, of the gifts of Providence; a horrible religion as inflicting or enjoining cruel sufferings, and monstrous and loathsome in its very indulgence of the passions; a religion leading by re-action to infidelity; a religion of magic, and of the vulgar arts, real and pretended, with which magic was accompanied; a secret religion which dared not face the day; an itinerant, busy, proselytizing religion, forming an extended confederacy against the state, resisting its authority and breaking its laws. There may be some exceptions to this general impression, such as Pliny’s discovery of the innocent and virtuous rule of life adopted by the Christians of Pontus; but this only proves that Christianity was not the infamous religion which the heathen thought it; it did not reverse their general belief to the contrary.”—(p. 235.)

The inference is easy and obvious.

“On the whole I conclude as follows:—if there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition, of borrowing its rites and customs

from the heathen, and of ascribing to forms and ceremonies an occult virtue;—a religion which is considered to burden and enslave the mind by its requisitions, to address itself to the weak-minded and ignorant, to be supported by sophistry and imposture, and to contradict reason and exalt mere irrational faith;—a religion which impresses on the serious mind very distressing views of the guilt and consequences of sin, sets upon the minute acts of the day, one by one, their definite value for praise or blame, and thus casts a grave shadow over the future;—a religion which holds up to admiration the surrender of wealth, and disables serious persons from enjoying it if they would;—a religion, the doctrines of which, be they good or bad, are to the generality of men unknown; which is considered to bear on its very surface signs of folly and falsehood so distinct that a glance suffices to judge of it, and careful examination is preposterous; which is felt to be so simply bad, that it may be calumniated at hazard and at pleasure, it being nothing but absurdity to stand upon the accurate distribution of its guilt among its particular acts, or painfully to determine how far this or that story is literally true, what must be allowed in candour, or what is improbable, or what cuts two ways, or what is not proved, or what may be plausibly defended;—a religion such, that men look at a convert to it with a feeling which no other sect raises except Judaism, Socialism, or Mormonism, with curiosity, suspicion, fear, disgust, as the case may be, as if something strange had befallen him, as if he had had an initiation into a mystery, and had come into communion with dreadful influences, as if he were now one of a confederacy which claimed him, absorbed him, stripped him of his personality, reduced him to a mere organ or instrument of a whole;—a religion which men hate as proselytizing, anti-social, revolutionary, as dividing families, separating chief friends, corrupting the maxims of government, making a mock at law, dissolving the Empire, the enemy of human nature, and a ‘conspirator against its rights and privileges;’—a religion which they consider the champion and

instrument of darkness, and a pollution calling down upon the land the anger of heaven ;—a religion which they associate with intrigue and conspiracy, which they speak about in whispers, which they detect by anticipation in whatever goes wrong, and to which they impute whatever is unaccountable ;—a religion, the very name of which they cast out as evil, and use simply as a bad epithet, and which from the impulse of self-preservation they would persecute if they could ;—if there be such a religion now in the world, it is not unlike Christianity as that same world viewed it, when first it came forth from its Divine Author.” —(pp. 240—242.)

Every one who knows any thing of the tempers of young men in the present day, will feel that this section, especially the powerful rhetoric which I have just quoted, is likely to make a strong impression upon them. I do not believe it will be always or generally an impression in favour of Romanism ; but if not, then of great detestation for Christianity. The manner in which the reasoning will work is this : “ Here,” it will be said, “ is no effort to disguise the truth ; to tempt us with sugar-plums. The system Mr. Newman believes in is presented to us in its darkest form ; all that can be said against it is anticipated ; Michelet and Eugene Sue are subpœnaed in its favour ; the more facts or arguments they allege in disparagement of it, the more clear are the proofs of its divinity, and of its derivation from that which is so often set up in opposition to it. A person who puts his own cause at such an apparent disadvantage ; who seems willingly to assume the most horrible statement of it ; who can see in that statement a witness of its God-like character, may be trusted when he goes into the evidence. And then how very strong that evidence

is—Does *not* Tacitus call Christianity ‘*exitiabilis superstitio*’? Was it *not* considered as accursed and intolerable—incompatible with good government—by the Roman empire? Was it not suspected of magic? Must it not have had a relation to Gnosticism, and to the different faiths out of which Gnosticism grew?”

While the readers of Mr. Newman are occupied with these questions, with their admiration of his learning and eloquence, and with counting up the different particulars of his evidence, is it at all likely that they will remember to say to themselves, “And so this is the way in which we Christians, living in the nineteenth century, bound, as Mr. Newman told us in the last chapter we were, to take for granted the reality of that which we have, till it is shewn not to be true; possessing so many Christian testimonies of the first ages, as to what Christianity was or seemed to be to those who professed it; possessing a Bible; this is the way in which we are to arrive at the nearest possible approximation to the essential idea of Christianity; to a discovery of that *radix* out of which its developments have proceeded. The phase which Christianity presents to two or three observers, watching it with indifference and contempt, and describing it in the language in which they would describe any novel form of worship; the phase which it assumes in Gnosticism; its likeness to oriental philosophy and rites; the judgment of the Roman state about it;—these are to be our helps in ascertaining the meaning of the Creed and Lord’s Prayer and ten Commandments.” This is literally the state of the case. Of course all these points of historical evidence are valuable; not one of them will be rejected or treated with levity by any honest

historian. The deeply-rooted feeling of the Roman empire, that it could not coexist with Christianity, above all requires the most diligent consideration. But I am bold to say that we cannot understand Tacitus, or Pliny, or Suetonius, or the feelings of the Emperors, unless we have some other standing point than they furnish. These are precisely the dark random hints which it requires some light coming from elsewhere to dispose and interpret. Mr. Newman in effect says, with a humility which is strangely contrasted with the boldness of his reasonings and conclusions—"I have no such light. I have been reading the book in which Romanists and Protestants say the elements of their faith are contained, for some thirty years; I have been studying the Fathers, who speak as if Christianity had meant something very real to them; I have been studying the histories of the saints and martyrs of the early ages, who thought it was worth living and dying for; but I can find nothing in them. From scattered notices of the priests of Cybele and Isis; from a few words of Roman authors; from a passage in Plutarch; from our imperfect records of Gnosticism—I have obtained my essential idea of Christianity." Or, if he do not mean this; if he have received a very clear impression of the original type of Christianity himself from these sources, yet it is one which he must not disclose to us. It is part of the *disciplina arcani* that we should not hear of it. Be it so: but then why speak to us of it? why tell us that there is an essential idea, and that it is the test of developments to know that they correspond to it, when you have not given us the slightest help towards ascertaining what this may be; only certain impressions

which a certain number of lookers on derived from the outside aspect of the thing in which this essential idea dwelt? What! do you really mean that there have been the greatest possible changes taking place in the form and doctrine of Christianity, and that the one thing which has remained permanent, is just the external appearance which it presents to the world? Have you taken such pains to prove that it must change because it has entered into the consciences of men, and affects them and is affected by them; and then do you turn round and tell us, The world has shifted its position; the nations have been baptized; Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius have gone out; Frederic II. and Guizot have come in; and Christianity looks to the last precisely as it looked to the first? Oh! then it is the exterior which is invariable; nothing is altered but that which is within—what *we* call the essential idea;—a possible opinion certainly, but which sounds rather like a Protestant one.

Mr. Newman then, having utterly failed us just when we needed him most, having laboured by every ingenuity of rhetoric and special pleading, to persuade us that we were not to ask for this essential idea, and yet that he could in due time produce either it or some equivalent for it; and having neither proved that we ought to forego our claim, or to acquiesce in his mode of adjusting it; those who stand upon our ground, who think there is an antecedent probability that the Bible would reveal that which he has not found: are permitted, nay, bound, to show how they suppose this Revelation has been made, and in what way we may be the better for it. To answer this question is the purpose of these lectures. It

seems to me that the Epistle to the Hebrews does, in a very remarkable way, meet the difficulty ; that it does very precisely and distinctly set forth the idea which was working through the old economy, and is realized in the New ; that it does explain the method in which it pleased God to unfold this idea to the hearts of his servants : each step in the manifestation of it being a step in their spiritual education ; finally, that it gives us hints by which we may ascertain how this truth once manifested would affect the subsequent condition of the world ; hints which we may apply to the consideration, not of one portion of modern history, but of the whole. I am prepared for the objections which will be made to this attempt ; for being told that my notion of this book is no better than any other person's—that every one puts his own sense into the Bible, and so forth. I do not apprehend there is anything at all original in my view of the Epistle ; anything which has not presented itself to hundreds of people, reading in humbleness of mind, and which they do not enter into far more perfectly than I have been able to express it. Every thing I have said turns upon the first words of the Epistle ; upon the assertion, “ God hath spoken to us by a Son.” I have endeavoured to shew with what fidelity and consistency the truth expressed in these words has been unfolded through every part of the letter ; how, by keeping it in sight, the writer was able to prepare the Christians of Palestine for the greatest crisis in their history : how, if we keep it in sight, we may begin to find the Bible not altogether a sealed book ; to find the history of the Church not a dead letter ; how we may be prepared for a crisis perhaps not less

terrible than that of the destruction of the old polity. I do not know that it signifies much if there are a hundred different views of this book. No one will take mine, any more than he will take Mr. Newman's theory of developments, if he does not find it helpful to him in the pursuit of some object which he is seeking—if he do, he will, supposing he be an earnest man, turn it to what profit he can, however little right I may have to assume it as the true one. In the mean time I shall assume it no further than this. I shall ask whether, if it were the fact, as I have maintained in these lectures it is, that the early dispensation, of which the Bible contains the records, was pregnant with the idea of a Son of God and a Son of Man, and that the manifestation of Jesus Christ in this character was the winding up of that dispensation, the ground of the New, or Church Dispensation, this belief would help us to solve the questions which Mr. Newman has raised in the remainder of his book better than he has solved them. In entering upon this subject I am anticipating my future lectures, which will directly bear upon Church history, and the Romish controversy. I shall therefore confine myself to such hints (hereafter, if God permit, to be expanded) as are needful for the purpose of completing my view of the theory of developments.

The second section of the fourth Chapter treats of the Church in the fourth century. All Mr. Newman's learning is brought to illustrate the positions that heretics were very widely diffused over the empire; that their opinions presented so many points of resemblance to the orthodox, that the greatest saints and fathers were often for a time deceived by them;

that the point of union between these heretics was hatred of the Church ; that they gave it every evil name, but still called it catholic ; that the Church appealed especially to its character as catholic, there being included in that character, first, the idea of a communion not confined to any one locality, secondly, of fellowship of the members with each other, thirdly, of separation from heretics and schismatics. He argues, in passing, that apostolical succession is not, and cannot in its nature be, the ground of unity ; otherwise there could be no such sin as schism. (pp. 242—269.)

From the conclusion of the last chapter, which I quoted at length, the reader may infer the conclusion of this. Where is that great catholic body which exists in the midst of sects and heresies, which they all hate, which preserves its name, which is found over all the earth, which is called Harlot, Apostate, Antichrist, which cuts off heretics ? (p. 267.)

The greater part of this section is, it seems to me, interesting and valuable. We have to complain of some suppressions, not of many very unfair statements. The most serious of the latter is, an attempt which Mr. Newman makes to leave the impression upon our minds that Augustine was chiefly converted from the Manichees by discovering that theirs was not a body which could claim the name of catholic. But this is of small importance. The most ignorant are too familiar with his spiritual conflicts, his deep crying for the living God, to be deceived by such misrepresentations. I only advert to it because it shews the habit of Mr. Newman's mind ; at least the habit of mind which has produced this work. How God himself dwells in

His Church ; how He leads his servants by strangest methods through darkness into light ; how He fits them for their work by bringing them into deepest and most fearful acquaintance with themselves ; how He makes them feel their need of communion with Him, and with their fellow-men ; in a word, how He teaches them to seek for a catholic Church, and not for a catholic system ; of this we hear nothing directly ; much unawares.

For Mr. Newman is an historian in spite of himself, or rather of his systematic tendencies. When he is in the midst of living actors, he is carried away by the spirit which is in them. He does not forget his logic and special pleading, but they are kept in the back ground ; he sketches with a clear bold hand, and though there are shadows and foreshortenings in the picture, which have no business there, we are thankful to study it, and to learn from it. No one can look at the image he has given of the fourth century without feeling, perhaps more vividly than ever before, how strong the sense of unity was among the members of the Church then ; how much it was deepened by the presence of divided sects ; how it implied a fellowship among people of all nations and languages ; how it was expressed in forms and acts ; how spiritual it was ; how necessarily it involved a reference to one Centre. And where was this Centre ? The papal authority was only in process of development ; Mr. Newman will show us in the history of the next centuries how important it speedily became ; now it is only in the seed. I ask then again, where was this Centre : how was it that Greeks and Latins could feel that they were members of one society ; how

was it that they could repudiate those who would set up some partial notion of their own as a bond of union? If Christianity be what I have contended that the Epistle to the Hebrews represents it as being; if the whole work of the Jewish age was to bring out the Divine, Personal Centre of the universe; of true human society; if the dispensation which succeeded was to exhibit Him as this Centre—there is no difficulty in accounting for the phenomena of the fourth century. Take them just as Mr. Newman represents them, here we find a reconciling law for them; introduce those which he has passed over, the law becomes more applicable still. I ask the reader to study the facts adduced in this section carefully with this thought in his mind; to supply its deficiencies as he can by his own readings. When he has finished that task, I would rather bid him ponder and meditate than make sudden applications of the facts which he will have noticed. Else if he were disposed to imitate Mr. Newman's method, he might say, "If then there be any society now existing in the world which has substituted another centre for this living invisible Centre by which Christians were livingly bound together in the fourth century; if the effect of that substitution has been that the body is no longer one for all nations and languages; that it has become a Latin Church, ruled over by a Latin Sovereign; if the further effect has been to make all who join this society feel that they belong to a Catholic system, rather than that they are parts of a living body under the governance of a living Head; then, though one cannot deny that this society may be one of the lineal descendants of the Church of the fourth century; or, that it may have been intended by God to have even

a clearer knowledge than Christians had in that day ; or that all which is good and evil in it now may be the development of something which existed in it then ; yet one must suppose that its developments have not preserved the essential idea of Christianity, but are flagrant corruptions of it ; such corruptions as would have long ago extinguished the body in which they dwell, if it had not pleased God to raise up a protest against the pseudo Catholic centre, *for the real one* ; if He had not given men strength to say once and to say still, *For the sake of the holy Catholic Church, which is intended to bind together all people and nations and languages, we swear upon Christ's altar not to recognise that false bond of union which we believe has been the cause of infinite divisions, of practical infidelity, and which we are confident He will destroy by the brightness of His coming.*"

But the next Chapter on the fifth and sixth centuries, is the one which is to bring out fully the developing authority. It begins with a section on the Arians of the Gothic race ; dwells clearly and strongly on the well-known fact, that the Barbarians generally became Arians ; shews that, nevertheless, the Western Church continued to be called Catholic, and to feel itself such ; affirms that the Arian morality and Catholic corruption were often disadvantageously contrasted, so that *this* was no sufficient test for those who wished to abide in the true Church ; brings evidence of the gradual adoption of the word Roman as nearly a synonyme of Catholic ; adduces a passage from Jerome and one from Augustine in the previous century, to shew that there must be an allusion in

the word to the Roman see ; concludes with observing, that as the existence of the Donatists in Africa had led Augustine to dwell on his communion with the Roman see, as Jerome had done the same to distinguish himself from the Origenists, so now, the appeal to Rome from the Arian Barbarians became more necessary and habitual. (pp. 271—281.)

Undoubtedly, no statement can be fairer than this. It is exactly a record of what actually occurred. The facts explain themselves. No theory is required to account for them. If we suppose a divine government of the world, we at once follow without question or hesitation where we see it is leading us. The Western Church at a particular crisis is brought into great peril ; holy men belonging to it who feel strongly the truth of their union in Christ, are led to seek the aid of that city which was the centre of the world so long ; which always must have been recognised as having a very special position in the midst of European society ; which, as the West and East became more conscious of their original differences of language and character, less conscious of their higher union in a divine Head, would of course assume a still more marked position. But especially was Rome in its degradation as a capital dear to the faithful as a contrast to Constantinople, surrounded with imperial glory ; the one being a witness for the greatness of spiritual power ; the other of earthly material power. Hear how Jerome speaks—Jerome the Latin churchman *par excellence*, as he is quoted by Mr. Newman. (I take the words just as he gives them ; he adduces them as an anticipation in the fourth century of that which was to be developed in the

two following). "Writing to Damasus, he says, 'Since the East tears into pieces the Lord's coat...therefore by me is the chair of Peter to be consulted, and that faith which is praised by the Apostle's mouth...Though your greatness terrifies me, yet your kindness invites me. From the Priest the sacrifice claims salvation, from the Shepherd the sheep claim protection. Let us speak without offence; I court not Roman height: I speak with the successor of the Fisherman, and the disciple of the Cross. I, who follow none as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy blessedness, that is, with the see of Peter. On that rock the Church is built, I know. Whoso shall eat the Lamb outside that house is profane...I know not Vitalis, Meletius I reject, I am ignorant of Paulinus. Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth; that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antichrist.'" Just so; here are the clearest possible indications of the feelings which led to the exaltation of the Roman see. "The East," Jerome thought, "was tearing the coat of Christ." The subtlety of the Greek mind was disagreeable to his taste; the divisions of which it was the occasion, outraged his faith and conscience. He followed as his chief none but Christ; he wanted a personal centre, not the miserable centre of opinion which the Greek heretics were offering; he wanted a successor of the fisherman, not an emperor surrounded by his eunuchs; therefore he clings to the see of Peter. He thought he was thus upholding his allegiance to the invisible Head; that he was taking the best way which providence offered, of maintaining his position as one of a great living family, not as the professor of a system. What de-

gree of weakness, of cleaving to the visible and outward, mixed with this earnest and righteous feeling, the character and life of Jerome may explain. But his witness is not less valuable, as shewing how utterly unlike the instinct which led men to honour the Roman see was from the theory by which that instinct is justified and crushed. The instinct led men to fly to an outward centre, as a testimony to their minds—greatly tormented by the sight of men herding and fraternising in the acknowledgment of mere intellectual abstractions—that there was a living, eternal, invisible Centre, in whom the meanest and the highest, the bed-ridden woman and the learned doctor, might all feel that they had fellowship. The theory, the more it became developed, weakened that testimony the more ; when it was proclaimed in terms, “ Christ has given his authority to the chair of St. Peter ;” then did the hearts of the humble and meek begin more and more to utter the cry, “ They have taken away our Lord from his universe, and we know not where they have laid him.” That cry may be heard not in the sixteenth century, not in Wittenberg, not in Geneva ; but throughout the middle ages ; from the most vehement,—modern Protestants would say—the most idolatrous, churchmen. We are worthily punished for our dishonesty in not doing justice to what was right and holy and noble in those ages. The testimonies they bear on this subject, to those who will read them fairly, outweigh, it seems to me, all the tomes of anti-pontifical controversialists. Bishop Lowth in his *Prelections*, speaking of the tyranny which was established in Rome after the death of Julius Cæsar, and of the means by which it

might have been checked, exclaims 'Plus, mehercule, valuisset unum Ἀρμοδίου μέλος quam Ciceronis Philippicæ omnes.' Those who are dallying with the theory of Papal Supremacy in our day, who are fancying it means something very real and reconciling, may perhaps learn more of its true nature from a few cantos of the *Inferno* than from the treatise of Barrow.

The next section is on the Nestorians. The main object is to deduce Nestorianism from the Exegetical school of Antioch; to shew that Scriptural criticism was the main source of heresy in those ages; that those who determined to interpret Scripture literally, of necessity carried out the principle expressed in the words of one of them: "David did not make common to the servants what belongs to the Lord Christ; but what was proper to the Lord he spoke of the Lord, and what was proper to the servants, of servants." Hence Mr. Newman says, "as Christ was divided from His saints, the saints were divided from Christ, and an opening was made for a denial of their *cultus*. But a more serious consequence is latently contained in it,—nothing else than the Nestorian heresy, viz. that our Lord's manhood is not so intimately included in His divine Personality, that His brethren according to the flesh may be associated with the image of the one Christ." (pp. 281—286).

The importance of the section to Mr. Newman's purpose cannot well be overrated. If he succeeds in working out these propositions he leaves the impression on our minds, that Scripture cannot be used as a guide to determine the meaning or idea of Christianity and the law of its subsequent developments.

That meaning being an allegorical or hidden one, requires to be drawn out by a developing authority. Peril of the greatest heresy, even of that which concerns Christ's own person, lies in rejecting that authority, and appealing to Scripture against it.

If I chose to use special pleading in a case like this, upon which such mighty consequences depend, I should beg the reader to observe these two facts ; first, that out of this Syrian school of Exegesis, which Mr. Newman regards as the mother of all heresy, he acknowledges that Cyril, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, proceeded ; secondly, that he speaks throughout his volume of Origen—the great author of unliteral or allegorical interpretation—with the customary harshness of a Latinist, as the source of innumerable errors and corruptions. It would seem, then, that the conclusions of Mr. Newman respecting Exegesis do not quite follow from his premises. But this is a matter concerning his personal consistency ; it will not materially affect his ultimate inference ; which is, that allegory and criticism, history, language, conscience, revelation, are all dangerous, unless there be a human censor to overlook them.

But how stands the argument as to its general issue ? In the second of these Lectures I have ventured to enter upon it. I have maintained there that the Epistle to the Hebrews sets forth not only the essential idea of Scripture, but the method of it ; in other words, the method of divine education by which men in the old time were enabled to enter into this idea, to see how it must be realised. By referring to acknowledged instances of the allegorical method, I have endeavoured to show that the method

which the Epistle traces out is not *that*, but one altogether unlike it—one which does fullest, completest justice to the words of Scripture, and to the circumstances in which they were uttered ; that it is however in the strictest sense a spiritual method, one which does not deal with letters only, but with the heart and conscience, and inward conflicts of those who were subjected to it; one, lastly, which was pointing at every step to this end, the discovery or Revelation of a Lord who must be perfectly one with men and one with God; in whom there must be two natures ; in whom there could not be a double personality ; whose manifestation must destroy the cultus or homage of inferior creatures, at the same time must exalt the creation as it had never been exalted before. Whether this kind of Biblical study is likely to produce Nestorianism, I leave to the consideration of others. For myself, I have been astonished to perceive how some who talk glibly about the word *θεότοκος*, and are ready to use it for the same purpose, and, if the habits of our time permitted it, with the same effect as the word *Shibboleth* was used at the brook Jabbok, do nevertheless, when they are not talking theology, slide into Nestorianism. It seems as if they had no notion that Nestorianism meant anything, or was more than a certain system or formula announced by some heretic, and condemned by a certain council. Its power of clothing itself in philosophical artistical or political forms, its manifold practical bearings and outgrowths, they seem quite ignorant of. One would fancy they knew it in Labbe, not in themselves; that they had never felt it as a huge moral contradiction, the subversion of moral order in the same way, as the removal

of the law of cohesion or gravitation would be of physical order. Now this seems to me anything but a safe state of feeling, let it put on what pretence of orthodoxy it may. It will, I believe, be found that we may talk Nestorianism to our poor people when we are preaching sermons about the duty of behaving properly in Church ; beside sick beds, when we think we are only exhorting to repentance and good deeds ; in catechising children, when we suppose we are repeating Mr. Crossman's sentences. And I am satisfied we not only may do this, but shall do it, or something worse, if we are not inwardly convinced that the truth which Nestorianism sets aside belongs to the paupers of St. Giles's, to dying women, to little children ; and unless we care more to know what that truth is, than to have rules for detecting what persons do not hold it. A developing authority in Pope or Council may suffice to the furnishing us with such rules. If we would have that which can alone make them profitable, alone prevent them from misleading us and tempting us to cast stones at others while we are guilty of the same sin—we must learn from Scripture to feel that the centre of a universe is One Living Person, God and Man, not a Dogma or a Pope.

The next section is on the Monophysites. It is full of learning and interest, and on the whole, so far as I am able to judge, presents a fair view of the different points in the great Eutychian controversy. With great dramatical skill Mr. Newman brings in the different actors one after another, shews how nearly holy fathers approached to the borders of heresy in their expressions, how possible it was to explain favourably the language of the heretic himself, how well he could

justify it by the decrees and omissions of the Nicene and first Ephesian councils. He dwells strongly, upon the enormities of the second Council of Ephesus ; maintains, nevertheless, that it faithfully represented the sentiments of the East ; that the numbers present at it were not much inferior to those at the acknowledged Œcumenical Councils ; that Eutyches was canonically acquitted ; and that the decision of the council, so far as he was concerned, does not seem to have been affected by the violence of Dioscurus, which was chiefly effective in procuring the murder of Flavian. He lays great stress upon the fact that Eutyches constantly quoted the Scriptures in support of his heresy, saying that they were better than the teaching of the Fathers. Hence he concludes that a heresy appealing to the Fathers, to the Creed, above all, to Scripture, was by a general council professing to be œcumenical received as true in the person of its promulgator. (pp. 293—302).

The plot thickens—Church-doctors and Church-documents have failed. At length the *Deus ex machinâ* descends ; Pope Leo utters his voice at Chalcedon ; vain are all Greek and Egyptian subtleties to perplex the clearness of his discernment ; vain are all violent allegations of the danger from the opposite evil of Nestorianism ; he sees what is needful for the crisis ; what heresy is taking root and must be condemned. His legates will admit no evasions or subterfuges ; the bishops have prepared a definition ; refuse any addition to it ; say that the ‘Tome’ of Pope Leo shall not be introduced into it ; even call the Romans, Nestorians. But the authority of the Pope prevails. The definition is altered according to his

pleasure. The bishops exclaim, "This is the faith of the Fathers; we all follow it." They address letters to Leo, saying that he was the constituted interpreter of the voice of St. Peter. And so, says Mr. Newman, the controversy ended once for all. But he is anxious that we should also take notice of the sequel. The churches in Egypt rebel; is not this, they say, a shameful tyranny of the West over the East? They do not adopt Eutychianism in its worst sense; they only refuse to receive the Tome at Roman dictation. They establish a middle school of doctrine; call themselves Monophysites; argue that as body and soul make up but one person, so God and Man make up but one compound nature in Christ. Their language, Mr. Newman thinks, might often have been innocent; but they became essentially heretical. They could verbally, not practically, distinguish themselves from the pure Eutychians; they were very mystical, severe, enthusiastic; were famous for their austerities; but they had renounced the authority which could speak, and which they were meant to obey; they could never unite; endless dissensions and wars followed. Zeno published his *Henoticon*. It had the fate of all such measures; "All the Eastern bishops signed the imperial formulary. But the unanimity of the East was purchased by a breach with the West; the Popes cut off the communion between the two divisions of Christendom for thirty-five years. On the other hand, the more zealous Monophysites, disgusted at their leaders for accepting what they thought an unjustifiable compromise, split off from the heretical churches, and founded a sect by themselves, which remained without bishops (*acephali*) for 300 years, when, at length, they were

received back into the communion of the Catholic Church." (pp. 302—314).

Of course, in these last passages, "more is meant than meets the ear." Mr. Newman is talking in an under tone to some friends in the enemy's camp, who, he expects, will understand him. Be that as it may, I have been anxious to suppress no part of this remarkable chapter, but, on the contrary, to bring out its object—still more, its facts, as clearly as possible. And what is the result? Here is another great controversy respecting the Person of Christ. As Mr. Newman shews so clearly, the phrases of Eutyches were capable of more than a sophistical justification from the highest authorities. As he further shews, vehement human passions were enlisted in the dispute; it concerned kingdoms; affected in the most practical manner Europe and Asia. The ultimate adjustment of it, he proves, was not left to Greek theologians; it was given to a Latin bishop, one much simpler than they, and possessing the discernment, the real spiritual subtlety which accompanies simplicity. Feeling the unity of the Church to be the all-important thing, but feeling that unity to be of the most real kind, not producible by compromises, resting on a Divine ground; feeling this, like a Roman, whether or not he could invent phrases like a Greek, Leo was just the person who at such a time might be expected, at least by those who recognise the government of God over the Church, and who observe the instruments he employs, to be called forth for such a work. Equally reasonable was it to expect that those feelings which we saw pointing so evidently, even in the fourth century, towards Rome

as a witness for the fellowship of the Church in a Person as an antagonist to Greek notionalism, should receive a great additional strength from such events as these ; nay, that for a time the Greek disputants themselves should have rejoiced to feel that they had so safe a guide. But remember that the subject-matter of the controversy is that which interprets and reconciles all the different phænomena of it. Because the Person of Christ was felt, amidst all confusions and obscurities, to be the Centre of the Church and the universe, therefore was he welcomed as the true teacher and spiritual helper of Christendom, who enabled it simply to recognise again the divine and human nature of its Lord, and to cast away all conceptions of the carnal understanding, all creations of the mere systematizing faculty, which interfered with this recognition.

Here Mr. Newman closes his illustrations of the first Test. Let us endeavour to collect the evidence. Seeing that he has proved clearly, by a series of historical facts gathered from the records of the first six centuries, that there was the sense of a fellowship among Christians, divine, mysterious, invisible (which led the Heathens to suppose the Church a secret conspiracy); seeing that there was through these centuries a distinct consciousness of this invisible fellowship as consisting in a Divine Invisible Personal Centre; seeing that the controversies which gradually arose in the course of these centuries more and more determined the idea of this Person as divine and human, the Son of God and the Son of Man, to be the essential Idea of the society ; seeing that the tendency of the Church to obey a Latin master, and to reject

Greek teaching, was caused by the feeling which it had of this being the primary truth of all, the one bond of its existence,—therefore the great test of all future developments is to ascertain how far this idea has been preserved in them, how far it has been lost. And if any society should be found existing in this day, claiming to be Catholic, claiming to be œcumenical, which so little realizes, so little presents this idea, that an acute and learned advocate, thoroughly acquainted with all its characteristics, eager to defend them, obliged, by the construction of his argument, to seek for the essential idea of Christianity—should declare that he cannot find this idea, that he can only guess out that which is not *it*, but some shadow of it, from heathen testimonies,—then we may confidently conclude that this Society must be, in its inmost life and principle, unlike the Church of the first six centuries ; that the points of resemblance are superficial and external ; that its developments cannot endure the test to which, not an enemy, but an incomparably sagacious defender, desires they should be submitted.

We pass to the application of the second Test—the Continuity of Principle in the Developments themselves. Of this two illustrations are given. First, Scripture has been in all ages of the Church made the rule on which development has proceeded, and Scripture interpreted in a mystical sense. On this subject, Mr. Newman had touched in his remarks on the Syrian school of Exegesis ; here he proceeds to illustrate it more fully. The Fathers referred to texts of Scripture in confirmation of every doctrine whatever ; so do the latest post-Tridentine Catholic divines. The

Fathers interpreted Scripture mystically ; so also do the Romanists of this day. Heretics, resorting to literal interpretation of Scripture, deny the Romanist doctrines, and accuse the Romish Church of setting at nought Scripture. So did the Heretics of earlier times with all the Catholic doctrines. Each has continued in its own line. (pp. 302—327.)

To this statement there is only one objection, the exceeding vagueness of the terms mystical or allegorical. St. Cyprian brings a text in support of a doctrine which certainly does not appear upon the surface of it. Alphonso Liguori brings a text in support of another doctrine which does not appear on the surface of it. Does this prove that they have followed the same law of interpretation ? Say all you please about developments, about the greater light which may have been vouchsafed to the later doctor : I am far from wishing to deny that possibility. But we are seeking now for the *law* of developments. We want to ascertain that they are really and not apparently continuous. We want some more definite principle than this ; that men in different ages were equally mystical, equally allegorical, equally eschewers of the letter. We want to know what one or the other has aimed at in their interpretations. I think an author quoted by Mr. Newman has expressed the principle of the early period with great felicity.

“The main subject of Scripture is nothing else than to treat of the God-Man, or the Man-God, Christ Jesus, not only in the New Testament, which is open, but in the Old. . . . For whereas Scripture contains nothing but the precepts of belief and conduct, or faith and works, the end and the means towards it, the Creator and the creature, love of God and of our neighbour, creation and redemption,

and whereas all these are found in Christ, it follows that Christ is the proper subject of Canonical Scripture. For all matters of faith, whether concerning Creator or creatures, are recapitulated in Jesus, whom every heresy denies, according to that text, 'Every spirit that denies (*solvit*) Jesus is not of God;' for He as man is united to the Godhead, and as God to the manhood, to the Father from whom He is born, to the Holy Ghost who proceeds at once from Christ and the Father, to Mary His most Holy Mother, to the Church, to Scriptures, Sacraments, Saints, Angels, the Blessed, to Divine Grace, to the authority and ministers of the Church, so that it is rightly said that every heresy denies Jesus."—(pp. 321, 322.)

This undoubtedly was the idea of the Fathers. They felt that Christ was in some way the Centre of Scripture, that all Scripture must be pointing to Him, revealing Him. The so-called literalists, as described before by Mr. Newman, did not recognise this principle—they denied it. They saw no coherency in Scripture; each psalm or prophecy stood by itself, was to be understood as if it had no living relation to any other. This, at least, was their tendency; it was never actually carried out, but it was carried far enough, as Mr. Newman has shown, to beget some great heresies. Nevertheless, a portion of the Fathers, as he also confesses—Chrysostom among them—felt that there was a true and precious principle in this literal doctrine. They were disinclined to allegory; looked at it as connected with grave errors which the Alexandrian school had propagated; were disposed to draw chiefly lessons of life and conduct from the Bible; habitually, however, recognised all its parts as referring to Christ. It is utterly impossible then to prove the fidelity of the

development by merely shewing that it preserved the allegorical method. That was an accident—it might be quite a temporary accident of the early Hermeneutics. The ground of them is this: Unity of the Scriptures in Christ.

Such a development then as should enable men to see more clearly this unity; as such should reconcile the aim of those Fathers who sought out a hidden mystical sense with that of those who looked at it directly and practically; as should be evolved by the oppositions of teachers who disbelieve the Bible, or its main principle; as should avail itself of the fresh information which each age brings to light; as should lead to less imputation of our own thoughts and notions to the Bible, more to an honest and reverent search for that which it makes known; finally, as should shew the Bible to be available for the wants of the simple and child-like, just because it unfolds the deepest theology,—such a development would be continuous in Mr. Newman's sense of the word, and would fulfil the other conditions which he says are not found in a corruption.

A development of this kind has, I believe, been going on in the Church from the earliest age in reference to the study of Scripture, under the authority not of any mortal, but of Him who has promised that He will watch over it, and that all things shall work together for its good. The early Fathers dwelt among the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven: for these they were to live and die; earth did not present itself to them in any other way than as an opposition to heaven or a type of it; hence, their ready adoption of those views of the old Scripture which Philo and the Jewish Alexandrian school had already

expounded so elaborately. Chrysostom at Antioch and Constantinople feels the need of something more human and intelligible; the Bible offers him specimens of godliness, and of the punishment of evil doings. To Augustine it interprets the Divine Unity and Divine Love in opposition to Manes and Faustus; the law of the new and the old man in opposition to Pelagius. Jerome must surround it with a complete commentary, that the diligence of the Latin may not be put to shame by Origen, whose doctrine he hates. Old problems present themselves to the Schoolmen in an entirely new form: all the authorities of the past—Scriptures, Fathers, Aristotle—are called in to resolve them. Sometimes you might fancy that all had equal weight; but the doctor feels that the Scriptures are revealing the mystery of the Divine Nature; that the Fathers are only illustrating it; that Aristotle is only giving the mould and method in which it is to be set forth. That however the mystics cannot concede to him. The strict school form is intolerable to them. All divinity must be spiritual converse. The Psalms and the Canticles are their chosen books; by them the rest of Scripture is interpreted. Luther carries on their cry, "The schools have banished Christ. The Bible, the whole Bible is speaking of Him; all psalms, epistles, gospels, set forth Him to man. It is the one book which does this; therefore it is the one book which the poor man broken in heart, seeking deliverance from sin, requires." Centuries have gone on; the politics of the world have become more intricate; discoveries have been made in history; men have begun to think that there is no need of a Bible; or, that if there be, they have not one; that what is called by that name is

a set of documents characteristic of the Jewish people, to be tried by the maxims which apply to all other records of ancient history, or utterances of ancient feeling. It is impossible to overlook these speculations; they cannot be silenced by authority; the kind of defences of authenticity and inspiration which were prevalent in the last age are inapplicable to them. But I believe a strong conviction is awakening in a great number of minds here and on the Continent, that the history of the world requires a Bible to interpret it; that the more its problems are studied the more this necessity will become apparent; that the Bible we have will fulfil this office provided it be a Bible; that is, provided the old notion of its being a whole is not a fiction; that it is a whole, because it is a record of a regular historical method by which it pleased God that his Son should be manifested to man. They look therefore upon Christ the Son of God and the Son of Man as the subject of Scripture; they learn of the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Mystics, the Reformers, because the principle which they recognise is the same with that which Fathers, Schoolmen, Mystics, Reformers, recognised; only they do not refuse further to be taught of God by the experience of individual life, by the actual history of the world, how to receive the witness of His word more directly, to darken it less by shadows cast from their own minds, to make it less a matter of private interpretation, to tremble more lest what is meant to explain the ways of God to man, should, through our fault or conceit, perplex them more. When those who are mercifully led into this path of investigation are accused of setting up private judgment against the

decrees of Fathers and Doctors, they may safely leave their cause to Him who knows whether, in abandoning the office of interpreters, and seeking for a divine interpreter to unravel what they have found intricate, they are influenced by self-confidence or by self-distrust. If they cannot deny that the Bible teaches them to understand Fathers and Schoolmen and Reformers more than these help them to understand the Bible, that on the whole, the text seems to them brighter and clearer than the comment, this does not prove that they delight less in the landscape which the sun brings out before them, or that there is a single rivulet or hedgerow in it which they would not willingly be acquainted with. But if they have found from sad experience that all who merely accept a traditional interpretation, of whatever kind, or from whatever source derived, prove unfaithful to their own tradition, mix private judgment with it, depart further and further from the principle and spirit of those whom they profess in every particular to copy; if they have found that neither these nor those who submit to a human developing authority can meet the questionings in the minds of young men of this day, but only treat them with roughness and contempt, driving them into a hopeless infidelity, or persuading them to fancy they believe that which they do not believe, or to make a profession of believing it, without even this fancy; if this be so, then surely they have no time to debate whether such a man will call them rationalists for labouring to overthrow rationalism, or such another will suspect them of exalting themselves, because they say the only safety is in abasement. It is a question of God's honour and our

brother's blood; not to follow the course which we are convinced will advance the one and clear our consciences of the other, is to come under the censure of Him who has said, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and my words in an adulterous and sinful generation, of Him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the glory of His Father and of the Holy Angels."

This question is so closely bound up with the subject of these Lectures, that I have been tempted to speak at greater length upon it than the limits of a Preface properly sanction. And yet I cannot pass over the next section, which is also of deepest interest at this time and in this connection. The second proof that the Law of Continuity has been preserved in the Romish developments is, that the principle of the Supremacy of Faith over Reason—which was the leading tenet of the old Church, has been acknowledged in every one of them; has determined at once its nature and its justification. The principle and its opposite are thus described by Mr. Newman.

"That belief is in itself better than unbelief; that it is safer to believe; that we must begin with believing, and that conviction will follow; that as for the reasons of believing, they are for the most part implicit, and but slightly recognised by the mind that is under their influence; that they consist moreover rather of presumptions and guesses, ventures after the truth than of accurate proofs; and that probable arguments are sufficient for conclusions which we even embrace as most certain, and turn to the most important uses. On the other hand, it has ever been the heretical principle to prefer Reason to Faith, and to hold that things must be considered true only so far as they are proved."—(pp. 327, 328.)

The great difficulty in this section arises from the various senses which Mr. Newman gives to the word "Faith." Sometimes it seems to be trust in conclusions deduced from probable arguments; sometimes (after a passage of Origen, p. 330), a substitute given to the multitude "for those philosophical exercises which Christianity allows and encourages, but does not impose on the individual." Sometimes, (p. 333), after Aquinas, it is intimated that men by Faith "may have a certain and undoubted cognizance of God;" and after Suarez, (p. 334,) that by Faith we know God with absolute and divine certainty, whereas by Reason we know Him with entire human certainty. Sometimes, (p. 336), Faith is identified with vision: "The light of Faith makes things seen that are believed." Now surely, before we can ascertain that the Law of Developments has been preserved, we ought to know more than that the later doctors have asserted, as earlier doctors did, the supremacy of Faith over Reason; we ought to know whether the earlier and later doctors meant the same things by Faith and Reason, or if they differed as much with each other on the subject as Mr. Newman seems to differ with himself. Perhaps a few hints on this point may not be thrown away.

The views of the early Church respecting Faith may be ascertained, if any where, from the Creed. From it we learn why any definite notion about Faith, any effort to put it forward bodily, was alien from the spirit of primitive times, however many instances of the experiment may be actually found, however many more the critics of later times may have imagined. The "believe" is really lost in Him who is believed.

The Faith goes out of the I into the object. It does not try to realise itself apart from the one or the other.

The Scholastic period, as I remarked under the last head, is manifestly most different from this. Questions are raised; authoritative determinations of these questions are made: faith is demanded for the determination, and for the power which makes it. The man contemplates himself; reflects on his own acts; examines the process of his thoughts as well as their end. Yet who can look into Peter Lombard, the very text-book of Scholasticism, without perceiving that the old feeling wonderfully subsists though this great alteration. Faith in God Himself is set forth as the great blessing; faith is the way to the high reward, the knowledge of the Perfect Good, the all-sufficing Blessedness.

The questioning, subtilizing, self-revolving spirit, however, with its necessary result, the craving for formal settlements and definitions, gains the ascendancy; the belief in God Himself waxes fainter and fainter; mysticism labours to preserve it, but becomes intensely self-conscious in the effort. Luther, with his rude boldness, cuts through questions, determinations, and inward examinations, by calling upon men to believe in a Person. Faith is everything with him; he will not hear of Reason. The last is for schoolmen; the first for poor sinners. But faith is always connected in his mind with a Gospel. Good news of Christ the Son of God and the Son of Man, the Deliverer, are preached to men; they believe and are blessed. By and bye the Gospel ceases to be the proclamation of Christ; only the proclamation of

certain doctrines concerning Him, or of certain results from these doctrines. Faith is demanded for these. Controversies arise concerning them; the intellect discovers that it had its full share in moulding them into their shapes; it claims its share in judging concerning them, in rejecting them. The Intellect sets itself up against the Faith which Luther glorified; affirms that this Faith is its child or servant.

But the question arises in the schools whence this proclamation against Faith had issued. What is this Intellect? What are its powers and functions? Its claim to judge Faith arises from its share in making the propositions upon which Faith is employed. Has it no other function than this? or if not, have I no faculty, no organ which *has* another function than this? none which takes cognizance of that which is anterior to all constructions and propositions; of that which *is* in itself?

The theologian, you will say, at all events the Christian man as such, has no business in this controversy. Perhaps not; but with its consequences he may have much to do. This higher organ, if it should be able to prove its existence, what is it? what are its capacities? Is there anything before it? Is it the great original from which all things have proceeded? What! is this last question possible? Do not let us deceive ourselves; this is the question which men are asking themselves in all directions. Asking! yes, and answering in the affirmative. 'This is the original; there is nothing above it or beneath it.' We stand so near, so very near, to absolute Atheism. So near to Atheism; but, thanks be to God! so near to Faith; so near to the simple child-like faith of the first ages.

How can that be ? Because here is that which can indeed make itself its own ground ; it carries this awful, devilish possibility within it. But here is also that which asks for the Living God. Here is that which justifies a Revelation, petitions for a Revelation ; confesses that it has in itself no substitute for a Revelation. You need not meet it with arguments to prove the Revelation ; it will not care for them or listen to them. Meet it with the thing itself. Tell it the good news—‘ He is ; he has manifested Himself.’ There will be a cry, ‘ What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high ?’ but do not—for the love of man and of God do not—mistake the demon’s voice for the man’s. In the depth of that unbelief, yea, mixed with the very scornful tones of it, you will find a cry for something to believe in that shall not be shadowy, abstract, unreal ; something that can declare itself ; something of which the speech is not the echo of ours—for a Being, for a Person, for a Father, for One to whom the spirit can arise and go, and to whom it can say, ‘ I have sinned, and am not worthy to be called Thy child.’ Oh, of all wretched self-reproaches which lay the soul in the dust, I believe almost the saddest and most tormenting to some of us is the thought of having misunderstood these cries ; of having only listened,—because our own hearts were hard and cold, and we were not really trusting in God, or therefore sympathizing with the anguish of his creatures—to the bitterness and scorn which were the signs of that anguish, and having replied to these with trumpery words of man’s wisdom, or with the wrath which worketh not the righteousness of God. And, on the other hand, of all thoughts which lift us to heaven, and

teach us to say, ‘ Oh the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out ! ’ this seems to me nearly the most transporting, that by the speculations which we shrink from, as opening the deepest gulf of all, the very bottomless pit of unbelief, He should be preparing men to receive the simplest, and yet the deepest teaching of his Church ; to hear the Name into which we are baptized as the one which satisfies every longing, fills every chasm in the heart and spirit of man ; how the ages are bound together ; the Creed of the earliest being still the Creed of the latest ; the old man seeing Him that was from the beginning, even as the child knew the Father ; how all the exercises, definitions, and determinations of the Intellect are thus transcended, and yet their purpose explained and indicated ; how experience leads to submission ; how Reason, when it has attained its highest point, believes and obeys and worships.

But while God has thus been working so wonderfully from generation to generation, teaching all who are willing to learn of Him, Protestants or Romanists, to follow the leading of His providence, to understand the needs of the times unto which they are born, and to bring out this truth to meet them, what has the Developing Authority been doing ? how has it been conforming itself to the law which it professes to recognise ? what kind of honour has it given to Faith ? how has it exhibited the relation of Faith to Reason ? Its confusions are admirably imaged in Mr. Newman’s section. It has conjured with the word Faith, slipping in now one meaning for it, now another. You think it is the Creed, the belief in the blessed Name—No !

it is the belief in some doctrinal, or papal determination. You hope it is that which answers to sight in the body; No! it is the admission of a set of probable arguments. You think at least it is something which proves that Christianity is not merely an exercise of the understanding. It does indeed require you to insult the understanding; but first you must have done it homage; subtle exercises of the intellect have produced the notions and propositions which you are told that you are to accept as little children. The old childlike Faith is gone, that, perhaps, is involved in your idea of Development. But can you the better meet the modern state of feeling? Have you any resources to encounter that Atheism which threatens us? Rather as I have said already, Mr. Newman's counsel is a practical recognition of it. Fly to the Pope—for to whom else can you fly? Accept his teaching—what other teaching is there? And this language has not been used in vain. It has been understood, obeyed, acted on. Mr. Newman speaks often of Germany; once he says, "Lutheranism, as is well known, has by this time become simple heresy or infidelity."—This fact is not well known; Mr. Newman does not know it himself; if he believes that Dr. Pusey's work on Germany was the work of an honest eye-witness, he knows the contrary. By this and several other passages in this Essay he shews that, among his other retractations, he has retracted his powerful and awful sermon 'On Unreal Words.' But let Germany be all he says that it is: will he explain the phenomena of France, of Spain, of Italy? Will he shew how the principle of the supremacy of faith, as it is exhibited in Roman developments, has

worked in these countries? Is he prepared to prove, in opposition to testimonies worth at least as much as Mr. Dewar's, that it has not led the inhabitants of these countries to regard Faith as the synonyme of dishonesty, and so laid the foundation of the most wide spread infidelity that ever existed in any part of the globe?

In the next section Mr. Newman applies his second Test, of Continuity of Principle in Developments, and his third, of the Power of Assimilation, to what he calls the dogmatic and the sacramental principle, and the formation of a theology by means of them.

The dogmatic principle is the recognition of the importance of opinions in religion. This importance, he supposes, was scarcely realized under the Law; it is characteristic of the Gospel; the zeal and obedience of the ancient people being employed in the maintenance of Divine worship and the overthrow of idolatry, not in the assertion of opinion. Neither, he says, did the Greek philosophers, though often authoritative in their teaching, attach sanctity or reality to opinions, or view them in a religious light. Our Saviour was the first to bear witness to the Truth and to die for it, when before Pontius Pilate He witnessed a good confession; St. John and St. Paul, following His example, pronounced anathema upon those who denied the Truth, or brought in another Gospel. He then goes into the ordinary evidence to prove the importance which the Fathers, from the earliest times, attached to dogmas; their horror of heresies, &c. A conviction then that Truth was One—that it was a gift from without, a sacred trust and inestimable

blessing ; that it was to be revered, guarded, defended, transmitted ; that its absence was a grievous want, and its loss an intolerable calamity ;—this conviction was sovereign from the first in every part of Christendom. (pp. 337—347.)

“All this is quite consistent with perplexity or mistake as to what was truth in particular cases, in what way doubtful questions were to be decided, or what were the limits of the Revelation. Councils and Popes are the guardians and instruments of the dogmatic principle : they are not that principle themselves ; they presuppose the principle ; they are summoned into action at the call of the principle, and the principle might act even before they had their legitimate place, and exercised a recognised power, in the movements of the Christian body.”—(pp. 347, 348.)

But while this dogmatical principle was thus developing, the assimilative principle was developing along with it. Different Fathers in different positions represented different feelings and habits of mind : Clement, the Eclectic element, Tertullian, the Dogmatic. Gnostics, Montanists, Donatists, all kinds of heretics, brought forward sides of truth, which became false in their way of presenting them, and required to be resisted, but without which theology would have been imperfect ; a developing process therefore went on, which brought these into their proper place and relation to the recognised Creed. (pp. 349—354.)

By the Sacramental Principle, Mr. Newman understands that virtue or grace in the Gospel which changes the quality of doctrines, opinions, usages, actions, and personal characters, which become incorporated with it, and makes them right and acceptable to its Divine Author, when before they were either

contrary to the truth, or, at best, but shadows of it. On this principle it is that the adaptation of Pagan rites and ceremonies, which has been so much condemned by Protestant writers, went on in the Church. The Church has been intrusted with the dispensation of Grace—she converts Heathen appointments into spiritual rites and usages. She was in possession of a treasure, and she used a discretionary power in its application. (pp. 354—366.)

I have anticipated much of what I should have had to say upon this section. But I must notice the startling admission which Mr. Newman makes at the outset of it. Christianity, according to him, just so far as it is dogmatic, is a departure from the principle and type which are given us in the Old Testament. Elijah testified, as Mr. Newman says, against idolatry—as he says himself—‘That the LORD was God.’ Christians have a work different in kind from this, to testify in favour of certain opinions. I rejoice greatly that the author’s honesty has led him to make this statement; for I think many persons, who would be inclined to go along with him in all he says about opinions, if they were not thus directly confronted with the examples and principle of Scripture, will feel that they must stop and enquire whether there be not some radical error, not in Mr. Newman’s *conclusion* from the maxim which he holds in common with them, but in the maxim itself. And they cannot, surely, feel this duty less imperative when they hear Mr. Newman solemnly quoting the words of our Lord, “I came to bear witness of the Truth”—as if He had said, ‘I came to bear witness of certain opinions.’ If I changed one word for the other in that awful answer of His to

Pilate, I believe that there would be a shudder—an instant feeling that I was committing a blasphemy—in the mind of every simple and reverent person who believes in Christ and trembles at His word. I ask the question, and it is a most serious one, Would Mr. Newman dare to do this himself? Do not his inmost heart and conscience tell him that our Lord did *not* mean that He came to bear witness for certain opinions; that if He *had*, Pilate would never have left the judgment-hall with his scornful question.

Mr. Newman describes the principle of philosophies and heresies—the principle which is adverse to the dogmatical principle—thus: “That truth and falsehood in religion are but matter of opinion; that one is as good as another; that the Governor of the world does not intend that we should gain the Truth—that there is no Truth.” Undoubtedly these are the liberal maxims—this is the infidel habit of mind. And Mr. Newman’s own words shew whence it springs—‘*Truth is matter of opinion.*’ These eternal moral opposites are confounded by the liberal just as he confounds them. The starting points are the same, only the inferences, for a time, are at variance. Elijah bore witness for the living God—for Him who was, and who is, and who is to come. Mr. Newman says he did not bear witness for opinions. But he *did* bear witness for the Truth, for that which actually is. Our Lord said, ‘I came into the world to bear witness for the Truth;’ but He had said before, ‘*I am the Truth.*’ What were all His discourses with the Jews but so many witnesses of this? The Sadducean denier, the Pharisaical dogmatist, could go on talking

and debating for ever ; one could say, 'Why should we hold this or that ordinance or custom? why should we believe this or that notion?' The other could only answer, 'It is ruled ; the tradition of the elders says so ; it is the right inference from the language of the Bible.' He came forth to prove to the hearts and consciences of men that He was the Truth ; and those who were of the Truth, and wanted the Truth, and wished to be set free from their errors, heard His voice. And those that were for opinions, who cared only for opinions, whether they believed that right opinions could not be ascertained—that they were matters of indifference—or whether they believed that they were laid down in documents or preserved in traditions, hated Him, and conspired together against Him. The root of their minds was the same—dislike of reality, doubt whether anything actually is ; unbelief of that which their spirits were compelled to believe in and tremble. We can well understand then the strength with which St. Paul and St. John speak of the Truth, the vehemence with which the former denounces any who should preach another Gospel, which is not another ; for it was the announcement of another Being from the one whom he came to announce. It could not be good tidings—for it was not the tidings of the Father of all ; of Him who had sent His Son to redeem the world. And so it is with those beautiful words of the beloved disciple, in which he affirms that no lie is of the Truth—words to make Romish and Protestant controversialists quiver and turn pale ; and those in which he says, 'We know Him who is true, and we are in Him who is true—even in Jesus Christ.'

This conviction passed not in equal strength, but

yet in great strength, to the Fathers of the Church. They had a flesh in them as well as a spirit, and therefore, no doubt they were disposed to exalt the notions and opinions of their own minds. But it was the confidence that they were standing up for Him who is true, and not for an opinion—for the Name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, into which they had been baptized, against all gods who were the creations of man's thought and opinion, just as Elijah stood up for the True God against Baal,—it was this which bore them on, and enabled them to despise the decrees of proconsul or emperor, to bear the torture or the stake. It was this, too, which made them so vehement against heretics, the setters-up of opinions, the worshippers of Opinion, the destroyers of the unity of the Church in its living Head, for the sake of opinions. No doubt, in the course of their conflicts with these heretics, the evil of their own natures came out—earthly feelings and passions mingled with their true zeal for God. They became themselves violent and opinionated, even when they appealed to the Tradition of the Church for the living Name, against those who would have set up a double object of worship, or have turned Christ into an intellectual abstraction. They began to think of the Creed as a mere set of authorised opinions, not as a witness which God had been pleased to preserve of Himself. The punishment followed, and Tertullian remains as the standing example, the pillar of salt in the desert, to shew how rage against heresy may terminate in heresy; how, if we tolerate in ourselves a confusion between opinion and truth, we must end in exalting our own opinions against the Truth. Then it pleased God,

who had raised up this brave passionate African, and had permitted him to fall through his own vanity, in another part of the Church to call forth men who felt that Christianity had the relation to Gnosticism and even to heathen mythology and philosophy, of which Mr. Newman speaks; that it was not merely an opposing creed, which had come into the world, as Tertullian supposed, to expel everything which had been there previously; that it was come to bring all the elements of real life into harmony—only to cast out the death which had separated them and set them at war. But here again the Divine Head of the Church provided it with warnings as well as with instruction. These noble Alexandrians had their own peril; they were in danger of worshipping the conceits and apprehensions of their own minds, while they were seeking so earnestly after the Truth which was to set them free. They were in danger of making Christianity a refined speculation, not a living Truth; of exalting the speculator above the actor; the revelations to the meditative man above the Light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world; of mixing the practices of heathen mythology, the notions of heathen philosophy, with the Truth which had come to interpret them. *Now* the same recognition of a fixed and Living Truth, which had dwelt in Tertullian, taking a different direction, might lead to the discovery and elucidation of principles which the Montanist ignored or scorned; *now* the same evil principle of confounding opinion with Truth might lead to results apparently the most opposite, and yet in effect the same. And such, one might surely expect, would be the history of the Church in all ages,—such, I think,

it has actually been. In the hearts of the very same men the worship of a living and eternal Truth has been struggling with the worship of opinion. In the more practical, business-like Latin minds we see the Tertullian tendency ;—a crying out for the help of decrees and decisions, that this false statement might be anathematized, that dangerous practice extirpated. Decrees and decisions, which, whether they proceeded from the wisdom of individual doctors, or from councils or from popes, had their good and their evil : their good, inasmuch as they pointed out real distinctions, checked disorders, made men feel that there was a right and a wrong in all things ;—evil, inasmuch as they speedily became confounded with the Creed which spoke of the Eternal Name, with the Scriptures which contained the Revelation of that Name ; inasmuch as they fostered the feeling that the Creed was a digest of opinions, that the Scripture was a collection of those opinions *in extenso* ; inasmuch as they caused that, when any great reaction took place for the purpose of reasserting the worth of the old witnesses for the Living God, this should be of necessity accompanied by an infidel reaction against everything fixed and permanent. This same Latin habit of mind, viewed on its other side, has led to an apparently opposite result. As a practical man finds it very difficult to represent to himself the idea of Christianity apart from a society,—as he feels that whatever it is, it is embodied, realized in that, the enlargement of the society, the adoption of men into it, seems to him the great object of all. If he can bring men into the pale, if he can procure their consent to an established order, their mere thoughts or speculations

trouble him little. Nay, he will deal tolerantly with their practices, accommodating them often by very slight changes to his own. This is that practical process of assimilation which Mr. Newman speaks of, in which again I acknowledge that there has been much good mixed with much evil: good in that feeling which is at the root of it, that Christ came into the world to establish a kingdom or a family, and not to set up a notion or a doctrine; good in the feeling, that that kingdom is to be universal, and that therefore there must be a sense in which it becomes all things to all men, in which it meets with, and adapts itself to previously existing tempers and habits, only severing them from that which has degraded them, and made them self-contradictory ;—but again, evil in the kind of indifference to eternal boundaries which has grown out of it; in its disposition to look with tolerance upon superstition, as if it were only a virtue in excess, instead of being, as the Bible represents it, an accursed denial of God, a substitution of divided gods or a false god for Him; in its ultimate preference of human opinions and notions to truth; in its tendency to make Christianity itself a system of false worship; and when a strong rebellion arises against this tendency, for the purpose of asserting the true and divine worship; to cause that this should be accompanied with an infidel rebellion against all worship. Meantime, men of the Alexandrian habit of mind have been shewing an impatience of decrees, of doctrinal statements; a desire to recognise a divine principle latent in the workings of men's hearts and intellects in former times, to see tokens of good in whatever exists; to look upon Christ in every case as a fulfiller, not a destroyer.

Such men have been found in all ages of the Church, working much in the spirit in which Origen worked, producing great influence upon men who have had no sympathy with their speculations, acting even upon the Governors of the Church, elucidating much truth, introducing much looseness and vagueness; on the whole, rather favouring the growth of an eclectic doctrine, or of a religion for refined men, than leading to the acknowledgement of an eternal and universal truth for which we are to fight and die.

While we acknowledge the Church as God's Church, while we believe that He is in the midst of it, guiding and ruling, we are at no loss to conceive how this and all the other opposing elements of thought and feeling I have hinted at, it may be working together for good; how by their mutual, and sometimes contradictory operations, He may be preserving that which is fixed and eternal, separating it from the accidents of human opinion which had clung to it; amidst all changes of time and circumstance, varieties of position, earthly errors and infirmities, keeping alive a witness for the depth and perfection of his own truth which comprehendeth all, and which none can comprehend, which all may cleave to while they are walking here through darkness, and which they may hope to see unfolding itself in the clear light, when their selfishness is taken away, when they no longer wish to contract the Eternal Name to the dimensions of their own poor intellect; are willing to wonder at it and be lost in it.

But how is this trust and hope taken away from those, who, in place of confessing Him as their

guide, fancy that there is a human Developing Authority to whom He has committed his government? In earlier times, the sense of a ruling authority in Christendom was, as I have attempted to shew already, not the banishment of Truth, but, to a considerable extent, a witness for its presence; a sign that it was living, and not merely notional or documental. There were infinite confusions accompanying this good; but one frequently counteracted the other. Hildebrand cared more to set his foot on the neck of kings than to crush Berengarius by decrees; the lord of Christendom was less disposed to be its paltry dogmatist. And feebler Popes obeyed the current which they seemed to guide: witness the various fortune of Aristotle in the schools to which Mr. Newman alludes; how under the developing principle, or in plain historical language, because the Mendicant orders were mightier than the Pope, and he did what they compelled him to do, the philosopher was raised from a proscribed heretic into a pillar of orthodoxy. There is much, very much, to a calm and earnest reader of history which at once exhibits the latent anomaly of this notion, and shews how gracious was the permission of it for a time. But Mr. Newman says that now, more especially, we ought to adopt this authority, *because* there is such a tendency to disbelieve that Truth is, and may be found.

Alas! it is on this unbelief that Popery in our days builds its hopes. Men are saying in all directions, '*We have sought Truth high and low, and we cannot find it. We have tried to make up our minds whether this opinion is true or that. It is all in vain; we give*

up the search.' 'Oh then, come to me!' exclaims the Developing Authority; 'I will tell you what opinions are true, and what are false. You see it is just this help you are in need of.' Yes; if Truth be matter of opinion, if Truth mean opinion, the promise is good; they who accept it will find rest. But if Truth be something altogether different from opinion, if Christ bear witness of the Truth, if He be the Truth, then we can say to the weary seekers of our day, 'You have not indeed found out what opinions are true, what false. While that is the object of your search you must be disappointed, whether you seek to this man or that, in this book or that. But look at this Creed. Does it set forth opinions? Does it not speak of a Person? Look at this Bible. Does it speak of opinions? Does it not reveal a Person? Is it not for a Person that your conscience and reason are crying; to know Him and your relation to Him? Venite ad Me quicunque laboratis et fessi estis; there Augustine found deliverance from his Manicheeism, there may you from the Atheism (and Manicheeism too) of this century.' And thus I believe the gospel to the poor may become united with the deepest theological science. We shall not keep one truth for the pulpit and one for the schools; but the highest mysteries which are revealed to the student in meditation and prayer, will be those which he finds necessary, and which he can in simplest language impart, to the heathens of Manchester or Glasgow.

The fourth Test, of *Anticipation*, is applied in the following Chapter. The later developments were not "recognised and duly located in the Theological system; but the atmosphere of the Church was, as it

were, charged with them from the first, and delivered itself of them from time to time, in this way or that, in various places and persons, as occasion elicited them, testifying the presence of a vast body of thought which would one day take shape and position."

The illustrations are, the feelings respecting (1) Resurrection and Relics ; (2) Saints and Angels ; (3) The Merit of Virginity ; (4) The Office of St. Mary. Lastly, there are clear indications so early as the Epistles of Ignatius, that these feelings were organizing themselves into a Theological Science. pp. 369—396.

The principle to which Mr. Newman refers as the root of all these developments is set forth in the following passage:

"Christianity began by considering Matter as a creature of God, and in itself 'very good.' It taught that Matter, as well as Spirit, had become corrupt, in the instance of Adam; and it contemplated its recovery. It taught that the Highest had taken a portion of that corrupt mass upon Himself, in order to its sanctification. It taught that, as a firstfruits of His purpose, He had purified from all sin that very portion of it which He took into His Eternal Person, and thereunto had taken it from a Virgin Womb, which He had filled with the abundance of His Spirit. Moreover, it taught that during His earthly sojourn He had been subject to all the natural infirmities of man, and had suffered all those ills to which flesh is heir. It taught that the Highest had in that flesh died on the Cross, and that His blood had an expiatory power; moreover, that He had risen again in that flesh, and had carried that flesh with Him into heaven, and that from that flesh, glorified and deified in Him, He never would be divided. As a first consequence of these awful doctrines comes that of the resurrection of the bodies of His Saints, and their future glorification with Him; next, that of the

sanctity of relics ; further, that of the Real Presence in the Eucharist ; further, that of the merit of Virginity ; and, lastly, that of the prerogatives of Mary, Mother of God. All these doctrines are more or less developed in the Ante-Nicene period, though in various degrees, from the nature of the case.”—(pp. 370, 371.)

I will not go into the evidence which Mr. Newman produces on these points, because I shall not take any objections to it. I may believe that in several cases he has strained points to his purpose ; and it seems to me (though I am a very incompetent judge) that the critical argument on the celebrated passage of Justin is against him. But I confess I should be sorry to think that any important issues depended upon the success with which these patristic anticipations can be explained away. If Mr. Newman has not set them out fairly, it is quite possible that while we feel we have an interest in the question, we should apply still less strict and honest rules of criticism to them ; for a person determined to maintain the perfect coincidence of the Fathers with his own view, is, on the whole, more likely to be warped than one who admits changes and developments. I begin therefore with conceding generally the fact of these anticipations. I will go further and say, that I think Mr. Newman has done good service by the hint which he has given respecting the root of the feelings which afterwards branched off in so many directions.

It was, doubtless, in resistance to the great Gnostical denial—‘ Jesus Christ has not come in the flesh ’—that the Fathers were led to put such glory upon flesh. Everything in the first three centuries turned upon that assertion. The Unity of God was involved in it.

Was the God of the Old Testament the same with the God of the New? Was the Creator of the world the same with the Redeemer and Deliverer of it? Yea verily. He who spoke of old to the Jews hath manifested Himself to us in this Son of David. The Son by whom He created the worlds has come to break the world's yoke. This fact being set at nought, all was shadow, mist, abstraction. In place of God a thousand qualities, apprehensions, conceptions of the human intellect; partly the rationale, the *caput mortuum* of Greek mythology, the old gods stripped of all their humanity, looked at as philosophical creations; partly the older oriental idea of light flowing from the source of light, mixing itself with the Jewish and Christian acknowledgment of the divine Word; partly the ideas of the Gospel coming forth simply as ideas without their central realization—therefore as mere parts of a human speculation. This fact being set at nought, all fellowship was gone; a Gospel of *γνώσις* was no bond of society; there was no forgiveness of sins; no necessary acknowledgment of sin at all; no moral ground in the character of God—or, at least there was no revelation of it. If the spirit could sustain itself upon genealogies and emanations, at all events the flesh was left to itself—either to be cut off as an accursed thing, because it had no capacity for *γνώσις*, or to be left to its own wildest and darkest instincts. Such motives had the early Church for struggling to the death on behalf of this one fact; for feeling it to be the precious one of their lives; for bringing out all the results which seemed to follow from it, and most to contradict the Gnostical tendencies. Yet they had another fight to fight with the hea-

then round about them. Essentially it seemed to be the same fight. It was for the Unity of God as that was ; for His perfect manifestation in the Son of Man as that was ; for the Unity of all in Him as that was ; for the life which shone forth in Him, and which was the true life of His creatures as that was. The battle was the same ; but the standards of the enemy were different. *There* were dreamy philosophical abstractions ; *here* were palpable, earthly superstitions, direct creature-worship. Not only the language in opposing one and the other would be different ; the feelings in the minds of those who were engaged in one strife or the other would be different. Here everything would remind them that God had from the first been calling out a family and a nation, to be witnesses against all creature-worship, all bowing down to the works of men's hands ; had been raising them out of their natural tendencies to idolatry ; had been teaching them to know and adore Himself, the Absolute, the Eternal, Perfect Being, whom no man hath seen or can see. The Incarnation of Christ, and His glorification at the right hand of God, the descent of the Spirit, would seem to them to be the last steps in this blessed Revelation. The witness and the glory of the Jew had descended upon them ; they were sent into the world to drive idolatry out of it. On the other hand, how shall we express our intensely anti-Gnostical feeling ? How can we put honour enough upon that flesh which they make so light of, which we say our Lord took ? How shall we shew that man is really glorified ; his soul glorified, his body glorified by this transcendent act ? How shall we confess strongly enough, practically enough, that our Lord has really descended to the

earth, and has invested nature with a new robe ? The affections of the heart, the tendencies from which all heathen devotion had sprung, tendencies which can never be extinct, which it seemed must have a right meaning as well as a wrong, determine the mode. These relics of saints how precious they are, how dear to our memories and hearts ! But are they merely that ? Have they not some secret, mysterious virtue ? Is it not honouring Him who took flesh and glorified it to think so ? Is it not shewing that we look upon death as overcome to think so ? All the hosts of saints and angels—do they not gloriously share the Lord's throne ? Was it not promised that they should sit down with Him, as he sat down with his Father ? Must not that nature which He took be consummately holy ? Must not she who was chosen to bring Him forth into the world be unspeakably wonderful ? And this flesh, if it only be kept from all human defilements, must it not be most sacred and blessed ? Of all Popish developments these are, no doubt, the seeds. To judge of them we must not look at them as they appeared in their first shootings, (though there is enough to frighten any one who reads his Bible and trembles at its words, who really knows his own heart, and its temptations in those,) checked as they were by so many counteracting influences ; we must see them in their full growth, when the pagan idolatry no longer stood forth as the great practical warning against them. We must look, as Mr. Newman bids us look, at history. Most ready are we to put the cause upon that issue. We only ask an attentive devout study of history, starting from the conviction that the world was under the Divine government in

Jewish times, and that the principles and objects of that government are not different, to see what terrific discipline has been needful for the scourge of creature-worship; for teaching men that the question, whether they worship God or his creatures, is not a question of subtle reasoning; that it is a question of life and death; the question of all questions; which admits of no dallying or sophistry. Are twelve centuries of Mahometan dominion no testimony to those who believe that all things do not come by chance to the fact, that Christianity could not have maintained its own ground, its own first principle, if it had been left to the care of those who professed it? Fearful and wonderful! Asia and Egypt and Greece, the first homes of the Church, must be trodden under foot; the Incarnation must for all these centuries be denied,—that men may be taught to fear God and give glory to Him; that they may know, not by arguments and rhetoric, but by Divine demonstration, that God now, as much as of old, will not be confounded with his works. That witness is now ineffectual; it may be that a more terrible one is in reserve for us, unless we are willing to learn from the experience of Christendom, that the penalty of creature-worship is as great as in the ages that are past—yea greater, because the sin is greater; a degradation of the creature, a loss of spiritual life and energies, an incapacity of distinguishing light from darkness, good from ill; practical division in the midst of seeming unity; a continually increasing loss of actual faith which must have Truth for its object, and an increasing necessity of keeping alive a counterfeit faith by tricks and inventions; Atheism coming out of superstition, and

proving that they are not, as some vain people pretend, antagonist powers, one of which may be wisely upheld that the other may be kept down; but kindred spirits, each of which is ever helping, ever introducing the other. But I doubt whether these facts will make their full impression, unless we are thoroughly convinced that the Incarnation is, as I have maintained from the Epistle to the Hebrews that it is, not the reasonable excuse for creature-worship, but especially the consummation of the Divine teaching for raising men out of it; exalting, indeed, sanctifying and glorifying, not saints or their relics and the virgin Mother of Jesus—(the Church's image, in worshipping whom she is in fact either worshipping herself, or human nature as such) but all humanity, and all its forms and conditions; holy wedlock, the birth of children, poverty, sorrow, death; yet so exalting man that he shall feel he can never do homage to himself, or to any member of his race, or to anything below it; but only to Him who is the Head and Lord of the whole family of heaven and earth, to the Father and the Son in the unity of one Spirit blessed for ever.

The following Chapter is intended as an application of the fifth Test, of Logical Sequence. "That is," Mr. Newman "means to give instances of one doctrine leading to another; so that, if the former be admitted, the latter can hardly be denied; and the latter can hardly be called a corruption without reflecting on the former." The illustrations are connected with the great subject of the last chapter. Everybody, Mr. Newman says, will admit that the language of the Ante-Nicene Fathers respecting our Lord's Divinity,

may be more easily accommodated to Arianism than that of the Post-Nicene. They admitted phrases respecting the Son of God which seemed to connect him with angels; they thought the angels in the Old Testament were appearances of the Son; they spoke much of the subordination of the divine Son to the Father. The history of the controversy with the Arians was to raise our view of our Lord's Mediatorial acts, to impress them on us in their divine rather than their human aspect, and to associate them more intimately with the ineffable glories which surround the throne of God. pp. 397—399.

“The Apollinarian and Monophysite controversy, which followed in the course of the next century, tended towards a development in the same direction. Since the heresies, which were in question, maintained, at least virtually, that our Lord was not man, it was obvious to insist on the passages of Scripture which describe His created and subservient nature, and this had the immediate effect of interpreting of His manhood, texts which had hitherto been understood more commonly of His Divine Sonship. Thus, for instance, ‘My Father is greater than I,’ which had been understood even by St. Athanasius of our Lord as God, is applied by later writers more commonly to His humanity; and in this way the doctrine of His subordination to the Eternal Father, which formed so prominent a feature in Ante-Nicene theology, comparatively fell into the shade.

“And coincident with these changes, a most remarkable result is discovered. The treatment of the Arian and Monophysite errors, being of this character, became the natural introduction of the *cultus Sanctorum*; for in proportion as words descriptive of created mediation ceased to be applied to our Lord, so was a room opened for created mediators.”—(p. 400.)

The deification of Saints is traced to the same cause. In answer to the objection urged against our

Lord's divinity from texts which speak of His exaltation, Athanasius is led to insist largely on the benefits which have accrued to men through it. He says, that in "truth not Christ, but that human nature which he has assumed, was raised and glorified in Him." "Hence without misgiving we may apply to the saints the most sacred language of Psalmists and Prophets." pp. 402, 403.

The deification of St. Mary is thus accounted for and justified.

"The tendency of the Arian controversy to give a new Interpretation to the texts which speak of our Lord's subordination, has already been noticed; such as admitted of it were henceforth explained more prominently of His Manhood than of His Economy or His Sonship. But there were other texts which did not admit of this interpretation, but which, without ceasing to belong to Him, might seem more directly applicable to a creature than to the Creator. He indeed was really the 'Wisdom in whom the Father eternally delighted,' yet it would be but natural, if, under the circumstances of Arian misbelief, theologians looked out for other than the Eternal Son to be the immediate object of such descriptions. And thus the controversy opened a question which it did not settle. It discovered a new sphere, if we may so speak, in the realms of light, to which the Church had not yet assigned its inhabitant."—(pp. 404, 405.)

But

"The highest of creatures is levelled with the lowest in comparison of the One Creator Himself. That is, the Nicene Council recognised the eventful principle, that, while we believe and profess any being to be a creature, such a being is really no God to us, though honoured by us with whatever high titles and with whatever homage. Arius or Asterius did all but confess that Christ was the Almighty; they said much more than St. Bernard or St. Alphonso have since said of St. Mary; yet they left him a creature, and

were found wanting. Thus there was 'a wonder in heaven': a throne was seen, far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory; a title archetypal; a crown bright as the morning-star; a glory issuing from the Eternal Throne; robes pure as the heavens; and a sceptre over all; and who was the predestined heir of that Majesty? Who was that Wisdom, and what was her name, 'the Mother of fair love, and fear, and holy hope,' 'exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and a rose-plant in Jericho,' 'created from the beginning before the world' in God's counsels, and 'in Jerusalem was her power'? The vision is found in the Apocalypse, a Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith, unless the blasphemers of her Son came up to it. The Church of Rome is not idolatrous, unless Arianism is orthodoxy."—(pp. 405, 406.)

We may admit respecting this fearful section also, that Mr. Newman is right in the cause which he assigns to the growth of creature deification. Be it observed, however, that the cause is not the same as that assigned in the last chapter, but the opposite. The cultus of Saints and of the Virgin spoken of *there* arose from the feeling of a spiritual glory put upon the *flesh* by our Lord's descent into it; this worship or deification, from the feeling of His being ascended so high as to be beyond the reach of human sympathy. We may accept both assertions; but it cannot be said that the later feeling is the natural outgrowth of the other; that there is an order of progress. On the contrary, we perceive that these feelings are dependent and contingent upon certain opposite truths which have reference to the Lord of all. Now, this is the natural history of idolatry. Being natural to the human heart, but having no proper

life of its own, it travels in the wake of great truths; it follows the bendings and windings which they take when they come into contact with particular denials and falsehoods; it mimics the aspects which they present at one time or another to the world; it comes in to supply the want of that aspect which for a time is in eclipse. Mr. Newman does not deny that the idea of a filial subordination of the Divine Son held by the early Fathers was a true idea, he only says it was thrown into the shade; he almost *appears* to consider our Lord was less an actual human Mediator, after the necessity of asserting his divinity in more strict terms had been made apparent; but we will not impute to him such a heresy. All, therefore, we can gather from what he has said is this, that whenever any part of the great truth and mystery of the Gospel has been overshadowed, through the necessity of defending or putting forward the other parts, then the worship of Angels, the deification of Saints, the adoration of the Virgin—the substitutes which man invents to fill up a hollow in his heart, which the divine truth were it realised can alone fill—of necessity thrust themselves in. This is a very important consideration indeed, of great worth in the illustration of history; of still more in reference to our own time. For whereas it seems clear that each age has brought forth into prominence some one element of the Divine Mystery, and has been especially called not only to uphold it against gainsayers, but much more to set it forth in life and practice; upon us there has descended the deep responsibility of witnessing for the fulness and unity of that name into which we are baptized. Which task if we do not give

ourselves up to fulfil, with a deep sense of its great peril and awfulness, and of our utter unfitness for it, I cannot but think all past corruptions and heresies will press upon us, and that others, of which we may find the principle but not exactly the image in other days, will be found in alliance with them. We must fully enter into the idea of Athanasius respecting the glory of humanity in Christ; if not, we shall have either the broken shadow and parody of that idea which Mr. Newman wishes to re-establish among us, or else the vision of a glorified humanity without Christ, of a self-worshipping humanity, which has been seen in theories by Germans, which Frenchmen have tried to maintain socially, which yet unembodied in our land gives the colour to so many of our thoughts and discourses and schemes of life. We must seek to enter into the real divine unity; if not, the pseudo unity to which Mr. Newman would bring us back will be attempted once more among us; only to be followed, when its hollowness, its nothingness, its implicit infidelity, is laid bare, by an explicit infidelity; an anarchical unity, without a centre, without a God.

The next illustration of this test, of Logical Sequence, is taken from the developments, following the doctrine of Baptism.

Notoriously baptism in early times was often suspended to a later age. The feeling at the root of the delay was of course, that there could be no second baptism for the remission of sins. Hence the question arose how these could be remitted. The necessity of ecclesiastical penances and forgiveness was felt; great controversies arose about the extent and blessing of them. The Montanists and Novatians wished

to rob the Church of the power ; but under different conditions the power continued to be exercised over persons of all degrees. What was the nature and value of the penance ? Was it merely a sign of contrition, or in any sense a satisfaction for sins ? pp. 410—412.

“As to this question, it cannot be doubted that the Fathers considered penance as not a mere expression of contrition, but as an act done directly towards God, and a means of averting His anger. ‘If the sinner spare not himself, he will be spared by God,’ says the writer who goes under the name of St. Ambrose. ‘Let him lie in sackcloth, and by the austerity of his life make amends for the offence of his past pleasures,’ says St. Jerome. ‘As we have sinned greatly,’ says St. Cyprian, ‘let us weep greatly ; for a deep wound diligent and long tending must not be wanting, the repentance must not fall short of the offence.’ ‘Take heed to thyself,’ says St. Basil, ‘that, in proportion to the fault, thou admit also the restoration from the remedy.’ If so, the question follows which was above contemplated,—if, in consequence of death, or the exercise of the Church’s discretion, the ‘*plena poenitentia*’ is not accomplished in its ecclesiastical shape, how and when will the residue be exacted?”—(pp. 414, 415.)

The last suggestion introduces Purgatory. Clements of Alexandria, a passage of Cyprian and the acts of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, are quoted as indications of the faith of the third century on this subject. The following is from St. Cyril :—

“ ‘I know that many say,’ he observes, ‘what is a soul profited, which departs from this world either with sins, or without sins, if it be commemorated in the [Eucharistic] Prayer ? Now, surely, if when a king had banished certain who had given him offence, their connexions should weave a crown and offer it to him on behalf of those under his vengeance, would he not grant a respite to their punishments ? In the same way we, when we offer to Him our

supplications for those who have fallen asleep, though they be sinners, weave no crown, but offer up Christ, sacrificed for our sins, propitiating our merciful God, both for them and for ourselves.'"—(pp. 416, 417.)

The following passage is the important one of the chapter :

"There is, it is true, a higher class of motives which will be felt by the Saint; who will do from love what all Christians, who act acceptably, do from faith. And, moreover, the ordinary measures of charity which Christians possess, suffice for securing such respectable attention to religious duties as the routine necessities of the Church require. But if we would raise an army of devoted men to resist the world, to oppose sin and error, to relieve misery, or to propagate the truth, we must be provided with motives which keenly affect the many. Christian love is too rare a gift, philanthropy is too weak a material, for the occasion. Nor is an influence to be found to suit our purpose, besides this solemn conviction, which arises out of the very rudiments of Christian theology, and is taught by its most primitive masters,—this sense of the awfulness of post-baptismal sin. It is in vain to look out for missionaries for China or Africa, or evangelists for our great towns, or Christian attendants on the sick, or teachers of the ignorant, on such a scale of numbers as the need requires, without the doctrine of Purgatory. For thus the sins of youth are turned to account by the profitable penance of manhood; and terrors, which the philosopher scorns in the individual, become the benefactors and earn the gratitude of nations."—(p. 423.)

The section concludes with some observations on the Monastic Rule, tracing it, through its different developments, from St. Anthony to the Jesuits. Monachism, Mr. Newman considers as a sort of continuation of primeval innocence, and a school of self-chastisement. These are his remarks on the Jesuits :

“The great Society, which bears no earthly name, still more secular in its organization, and still more simply dependent on the See of St. Peter, has been still more distinguished than any Order before it for the rule of obedience, while it has compensated the danger of its free intercourse with the world by its scientific treatment of devotional exercises. The hermitage, the cloister, the inquisitor, and the friar, were suited to other states of society; with the Jesuits, as well as with the religious Communities, which are their juniors, usefulness, secular and religious literature, education, the confessional, preaching, the oversight of the poor, missions, the care of the sick, have been chief objects of attention; great cities have been the scene of operation: bodily austerities and the ceremonial of devotion have been made of but secondary importance. Yet it may fairly be questioned, whether, in an intellectual age, when freedom both of thought and of action is so dearly prized, a greater penance can be devised for the soldier of Christ than the absolute surrender of judgment and will to the command of another.”—(pp. 427, 428.)

On the first assertion of this section, that there was such a notion of Baptism, and therefore of Post-baptismal sin, as Mr. Newman here describes, prevalent in the Early Church, I shall raise no question. There is, I conceive, just the same kind of evidence for it, as for the existence of the cultus of the Saints, the reverence for relics and for virginity; that is to say, a very considerable body of evidence going far enough to prove the existence of a tendency, a habit of mind; quite compatible with the fact, that an opposite tendency, a different habit of mind, dwelt in the same persons, and may also be found expressed in their writings. If we wish to examine the root of the two sets of feelings, and how they may have co-existed, I believe Mr. Newman's remarks in a former chapter

may be of some assistance to us. The Incarnation was felt to be the centre of all things. 'The Incarnation has glorified the flesh or bodies of men. The Gnostics say, that matter is evil; we say it is in itself good. Everything that has come out of God's hands is good; it has become evil by man's act; now Christ has redeemed it, claimed it for his. We fleshly creatures come to be baptized. He claims us and owns us for his; we are no longer evil; we are made good, and we are so.' This would be the general statement. Soon the question would arise, In what sense do you affirm that any creature is good? The answer which the fact whereto Baptism is referred would seem to make is, 'Every person and everything is good when it is taken into relation and union with God; every person and everything is evil out of that relation.' Baptism would seem to make the same answer. The very word Sacrament would assert the principle; in its most general sense it is whatever God uses as an expression of his relation to the creature. And this therefore, I think, will be found a continually recurring doctrine in the writings of the Fathers, and indeed of devout men in every age. They felt that a fixed eternal relation was established between the Father, the Son, the Spirit, and all who were baptized.

But Matter is good *in itself*: we must assert this against the Gnostics. And it is natural for men to think of each thing in itself, to view it independently, out of its relations: the idea of a Sacrament is a hard one; seized sometimes with wonderful strength by the spirit, then departing again as if it meant nothing; always a contradiction to the natural man—the nature, the darkness

within us, ever trying to comprehend it, and never able. What wonder then if the Fathers should often, under the peculiar temptation of a Gnostical controversy, and the general temptation of rejecting the sacramental idea, have spoken of the baptized creature as made holy, pure *in itself*, in that instant of baptism? The words were true; it *was* pure in itself, so far as any created thing can be. But since no created thing can be pure except in its relation to the Creator, was there not an implied falsity in the word, and would it not be certain to generate others, in proportion as it became either defined by language to the intellect or familiar to the heart? A baptized person falls into sin. His teacher earnestly, solemnly admonishes him that he has forgotten the covenant of God; has violated his relation to Him; that he who had been taken to be God's child had become rebellious and disobedient; had disowned his Heavenly Father. He bids him arise, go to Him, and confess his sins. But he wishes to strengthen the statement. He tells him that he was pure, and has ceased to be pure; that he had a robe of righteousness given him, and that he has defiled it. These expressions are somewhat more rhetorical, more liable to misinterpretation, than the other; still, what a witness there is in the heart of their truth! The teacher goes on to say that the baptismal blessing is departed, for the man has sold his birthright. Still, the conscience witnesses that the words have a deep meaning. He is exhorted to fly from this and that temptation under which he had fallen; he is told that he must abstain from the Communion. He has a promise of restoration held out to him. But a controversy arises about the

nature of these dealings with the sinner. They must be justified by a formal statement. "This man once good, once holy, has contracted a stain from the world. His original corruption was taken away in baptism. This is a new corruption. Baptism cannot be repeated. It must be taken away by this penance." "That is impossible," answers the Novatian. The controversy becomes more violent. Both parties insensibly cast it into this mould. It is a question how purity can be restored to a lapsed creature. The question whether the man is still in the covenant of God; whether the titles of child of God and member of Christ apply to him; whether in the strength of them he is to repent, or whether he must start from an evil principle; these are in the background. But in process of time they become all important; and the man who wishes to follow the Fathers must ask himself resolutely, as in a question of life and death, Which of these aspects of the doctrine, both of which he will assuredly find in their writings, is Christian doctrine, which the departure from it?

For secondly, I quite admit with Mr. Newman, that the doctrine of Penance and that of Purgatory are the legitimate, necessary developments of this doctrine of Post-baptismal sin, which he holds and imputes to the Fathers. History proves it; conscience and reason, I think, prove it as certainly. Not to proceed eventually from one to the other, seems almost impossible.

But thirdly, Is it the fact, as he says, that we want both the doctrine and its developments, in order that we may send Missionaries to Africa and China, or do any great works? I will first suppose him to make a

general assertion, that this has been the great influence which has stirred up men in former days to work for God. I meet that assertion with a flat denial. I appeal to the history, not of one, but of *every* really remarkable work accomplished by any man in any age, for a refutation of it. Mr. Newman has grossly and shamefully slandered every great Romanist. He may point to hundreds who were penitents, who were conscious of great sins, who entered upon a life of diligence and devotion, because they considered "the time past had sufficed to have wrought the will of the flesh." But let him shew me one of whom any Roman Catholic biographer will confess that he acted from the slavish desire of getting quit of the punishment of his sins, and not from love to God and Man. No! if he wants to find men acting under the impulse of these terrors, seeking to clear themselves from the punishment of post-baptismal sins, he must not go to any record of heroic deeds done for the conversion or reformation of mankind. He must not go even to the story of any noble crusader, to Godfrey of Bouillon or St. Louis, no not to our own Richard. He must betake himself to the records of the rabble who traversed Europe after Peter. These poor creatures did set forth to rid themselves of their post-baptismal sins. And at every step the list was increased by fresh robberies, adulteries, murders, till Christian princes or the judgments of God destroyed them from the earth of which they were plagues.

But if, as I incline to think, Mr. Newman will say, "Oh yes, I am not talking of Catholics; I am speaking of you—you poor Englishmen, who have

three centuries of apostacy to atone for. Look how utterly sordid are all your thoughts ! how everything is done upon calculation ! Who expects to see *you* raising saints and martyrs ? When is love ever likely to prompt *you* to any deeds of devotion and sacrifice ? Depend upon it, you must fill yourselves with the thought that post-baptismal sin can hardly be pardoned ; you must set Purgatory before you, if you are ever to give up the wealth, and the luxuries, and the lives you cherish so dearly." It is a bitter taunt—the bitterest perhaps we were ever appointed to hear ; and we ought not to lose the recollection of it, for to a great extent we deserve it. We have been and are still, selfish and self-seeking ; it is our curse and torment. And *therefore* we tell him that we will not listen to his selfish, self-seeking arguments. We know that we are palsied now because we have made earth and heaven so much things of barter ; because we have cast ourselves so little upon God's love, and have sought so little to have his love wrought in us. We should be ten times more palsied if we set about the miserable and hopeless task of serving God in order to procure his forgiveness, instead of serving Him day by day in the strength of his forgiveness ; lamenting that we forget his covenant so much, and believe his promises so poorly. There is too much truth left in our English character, soiled as it is, for such advice as this. We know that our soldiers can stand on the burning soil of India, can meet hosts thrice as great as their own, can cast their lives away as trumpery things, only because it is their duty to stand where they are placed—to obey, and not leave their ranks. And we are quite sure that if

CXX CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE.—PRESERVATIVE ADDITIONS.

English Churchmen are to go forth as true missionaries to such lands, it must be in the same spirit—feeling themselves God's soldiers—committing their bodies and souls to him as to a faithful Creator, and then simply setting themselves to do his work, be the consequences to themselves what they may. So we may realize an obedience as strict as that of the Jesuits; an obedience like theirs, bringing forth its fruits in the world: but not like theirs, an obedience in which the highest service of all, the service of Truth, may at any time be abandoned at the will of a superior, or the decree of a developing authority. Obedience to a system has been tried to the utmost; the obedience of fear has been tried. Christian obedience, the obedience to a Divine Lord, and to men as his servants, the obedience of truth and love; this remains. If we think it impossible, we must prepare ourselves for a hopeless government of self-will, to last a brief season till it has destroyed itself.

In the next section Mr. Newman applies his sixth test. Each new development of Romanism he affirms is preservative of that which went before. (pp. 428—445.) There is no difference between us here. The case is precisely the same whether the developments be good or bad—whether they be movements towards the centre or away from it; each new step is a security for perseverance in its own direction—faltering or stopping is a signal of defeat. Thus, to take Mr. Newman's own instance,—the second commandment is broken in one instance, another breach of it is necessary to justify that; then it must be left out altogether; then a person must rise to maintain, as Mr. Newman has done, that the command

was only for a short time obligatory in the letter, and now apparently still less in the spirit. (p. 434.) So one pious fraud seems justified by the hope of a great result; the result is not great, but poor; then another must be introduced to compensate for its poverty, and to accomplish the end better; then a system of pious frauds is constructed, each preservative of the foregoing—the whole a development of the first. A passage quoted from Guizot by Mr. Newman respecting the “harmonious completeness of Romanism,” and the contradictions of the Reformers, is most instructive. Romanists persecute, Protestants persecute. The Romanist feels that he is consistent, the Protestant feels that he is inconsistent. Hence the first has a strength and justification in his course which the second cannot have. So it is in the whole formation of their systems. The Romanist’s is round and smooth, the Protestant’s irregular, jagged, broken. Evidently the one is a master of his art, the other is a blunderer, knows very little about it, yet will be continually making the attempt. Nor is it different, I conceive, with the Englishman. He, too, is most clumsy at this work: he builds towers, but they fall down—God comes down to confound the labour and the tongues of those who are engaged in it. Each new attempt at the creation of a system leads to new divisions and parties. A disheartening result indeed, if this is the task men are sent into the world to perform; if, without a system, we can have no religion, no theological science, no Church. But if religious feeling, exercises, life, have been cramped and destroyed by the bondage of system; if system in every depart-

ment has been the plague of science, making it, not the knowledge of that which is, but merely an aggregate of human conceptions ; if therefore it has been especially the curse of theological science, which is grounded on the Revelation of Him who is and was and is to come, and which should be ever exhibiting His revealed Name in some new aspect, as interpreting some new aspect in human history ; if, lastly, a system in all ages has been hiding the Church from view, making it assume the character of a school or a sect, destroying its reality, robbing it of its Centre,—then thanks be to God that we are reminded by so many proofs how vain it is for us to mould a system, call it Protestant, Anglican, Catholic, what you like ; how needful it is for us to use the faculties which have been given us in some other direction ; to be content, if we can, to dwell in a house not made with hands, without caring to raise one.

At length we come to the application of the seventh and last test. Mr. Newman shall speak for himself :

“A corruption is of brief duration, runs itself out quickly, and ends in death. This general law gives us additional assistance in determining the character of the developments of Christianity commonly called Catholic.

“When we consider the succession of ages during which the Catholic system has endured, the severity of the trials it has undergone, the sudden and wonderful changes without and within which have befallen it, the incessant mental activity and the intellectual gifts of its maintainers, the enthusiasm which it has kindled, the fury of the controversies which have been carried on among its professors, the impetuosity of the assaults made upon it, the ever-increasing responsibilities to which it has been committed

by the continuous development of its dogmas, it is quite inconceivable that it should not have been broken up and lost, were it a corruption of Christianity. Yet it is still living, if there be a living religion or philosophy in the world; vigorous, energetic, persuasive, progressive; *vires acquirit eundo*; it grows, and is not overgrown; it spreads out, yet is not enfeebled; it is ever germinating, yet ever consistent with itself. Corruptions indeed are to be found which sleep and are suspended; and these are usually called 'decays:' such is not the case with Catholicity: it does not sleep, it is not stationary even now; and that its long series of developments should be corruptions would be an instance of sustained error, so novel, so unaccountable, so preternatural, as to be little short of a miracle, and to rival those manifestations of Divine Power which constitute the evidence of Christianity. We sometimes view with surprise and awe the degree of pain and disarrangement which the human frame can undergo without succumbing; yet at length there comes an end. Fevers have their crisis, fatal or favourable; but this corruption of a thousand years, if corruption it be, has ever been growing nearer death, yet never reaching it, and has been strengthened, not debilitated, by its excesses."—(pp. 446, 447.)

The friends of Mr. Newman will acknowledge that, in concluding my extracts with this passage, I am giving his cause every advantage. I am quite willing that it should have that advantage. Let these words be read in connection with the remarks which I have just made, and we shall see precisely under what modifications we can adopt them as our own. The Catholic system has a claim to boast of chronic continuance, inasmuch as it has been a chronic disease affecting the Catholic Church during its whole existence, first slightly, then seriously, then almost vitally. It is indeed wonderful how its life has been preserved; how new energies have been from time to time awakened

in it ; how the strength of the disease has attested the strength of the constitution which has laboured under it.

But what is this Catholic Church ? If you mean by that question, what are its limits ? who have a right to say that they belong to it ? I cannot answer the question ; I believe only One can answer it ; I am content to leave it with Him. Romanists try to define exactly where it terminates, but they are witnesses against themselves ; they claim all nations calling themselves Christian, almost the earth, for their own. Protestants try to define its limits ; first they narrow it to themselves, then, perhaps, to some sect amongst themselves ; at last they feel how little that sect can endure any of the tests which they recognise. Englishmen are very apt to say, “ We are the Church ; Romanists we ignore, Protestants we ignore : we have rejected that which the first hold ; we hold that which the last reject ; we are pure ; we have the succession—let all do us homage.” And yet Protestants and Anglicans are continually striving, just as Romanists are, in one way or other, to be Catholic. The first will fraternise with all who love Christ or believe the Bible ; the others are longing to embrace Greeks and Romanists too, if they did not scorn the fellowship. While such debates are going on, a simple man may be content to profess his ignorance of that which has never been revealed.

But if by the question, What is the Catholic Church ? be meant, what is its primary essential idea ? what are the laws of its working ? in what sense is it earthly, in what sense is it heavenly ? where is its Centre ? is it a living body or a form of doctrine ? if the former, what does its doctrine signify ? to all such questions, which I conceive concern us more than

asking, ‘What shall this man do ; what shall become of him ?’ I think we may obtain very distinct and practical answers if we only seek for them in a right method. What the right method is it has been the main object of these lectures and of this preface to ascertain. I began with admitting that Mr. Newman’s demand for an historical investigation of Christianity was a reasonable one, and that Protestants abroad, as well as we in England, deserved his reproach of not looking manfully at facts. In the course of the enquiry it has appeared, that if Protestants had acted more consistently on their own principle of studying the Bible as a guide to the plans and purposes of God in the world, they would not have shrunk from the investigation. If, again, Englishmen had really felt, as they profess, that there is a Divine polity now existing, they would have more readily recognized the traces of this polity through the actual history of modern Europe. But because God has not been in all our thoughts, one party among us has raised the standard of The Bible, and the other of The Church, as if there were no relation between the two ; as if the one did not expound the other ; as if the one merely meant a book of opinions delivered centuries ago, and the other a system of opinions existing now. Hence it seems to me have come endless divisions and oppositions which no compromises can adjust, no explanations clear away, until we raise ourselves to a higher point of view, until we in reality, as as well as in words, confess that He whom the Bible proclaims as the true King is actually reigning over us. When we believe this truth history kindles into life ; there is no portion of it which we wish to pass over ; none which we have an interest in perverting. The more good we find everywhere in

every direction the more we rejoice ; when we see evil in that part which is dearest to us we dare not hide it. That honesty respecting facts and authorities which some worldly men manifest because they are indifferent, we shall strive after because we are deeply concerned not to misrepresent and confuse the order of God's works ; that fairness towards human characters which an indifferent man is unable to exhibit because he sympathises with nothing that is strong in them, because he does not feel their evil as his own, we may cultivate like any other grace which we naturally have not, and which we know will be given to those who seek it. Reading history in this spirit, I believe we shall prize our English portion of it more than we ever did, and boast of it less. We shall prize it, not because it separates us from men to the left and to the right, but because it enables us to do each justice ; not because it gives us a right to despise either, but the privilege of learning from both ; not because it tempts us to copy portions of the systems of one or the other, but because we can see from it that each has something better than a system ; not because it cherishes in us a love of theoretical wavering, but because it provides us with a basis of practical certainty ; not because it makes us satisfied with our exclusive nationality, but because by not abandoning that nationality we become witnesses of a bond and centre for all.

On these principles I have ventured to engage in this conflict with one of the subtlest logicians and ablest thinkers of our day. I should have said more than I have said of my respect for him in this character, if the subject had not been too serious for compliments. But on another and more

important point, I must do him and myself an act of justice. He has besought the reader, in the affecting conclusion of his book, not to "seduce himself with the imagination that it comes of disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feelings, or undue sensibility, or other weakness." I am bound to say that of these motives I see no traces in his book—or not more than may be found in any other written in a restless age and under circumstances of inevitable excitement. And I have no sympathy with the feeling which could wish to discover these traces, or could rejoice if they were apparent. It seems to me that widely as Mr. Newman's present conclusions are distant from those he once adopted, he has not arrived at them by any tortuous or illegitimate process. He appears to have felt strongly twelve years ago, that he was sent into the world to resist the progress of Rationalism; that the prevalent English system afforded no barrier against it; that we did however possess an adequate barrier in the Apostolic constitution, which we had forgotten or made light of; in the books of the Fathers, which our old divines had held sacred; in the reverence for sacraments. His voice was heard; numbers of young men especially felt that he had told them something which they wanted to know; many believed that the enemy was subdued. But Mr. Newman finds Rationalism as rampant as ever; its appearances seem to him not less, but more terrific than they did at first; the young Englishmen whom he led have ceased to be satisfied with the defences which he said were adequate against it; he believes that he must seek for others which are more impregnable. This course of thought seems to me a very natural

one. I can see nothing in it which would induce me to disparage the sincerity of the mind which has passed through it. Nor am I much influenced by documents which have been brought forward to prove that Mr. Newman was in heart and feeling a Romanist while he adhered to our communion. Chronology in the history of mental conflicts is most uncertain : to-day there may be sensations of vehement disgust for that which was once very dear, to-morrow a return of first love. If the decision is ultimately an honest one, we have no right to assume a cognizance of the previous struggles and revulsions of feeling, which are really known only to the Judge of all. I think we shall miss the lesson, the humbling and therefore the useful lesson, which Mr. Newman may teach us, if we busy ourselves in seeking excuses for condemning him. He finds the barriers he thought would preserve us from Rationalism insufficient. Is he not right ? are they not insufficient ? Will a mere belief in the Fathers, or in Succession, avail to answer the question, ' Is GOD really among us or no ? ' Will Sacraments avail, if we look at them apart from Him, if they do not testify of His presence ? The Rationalist has gone beneath all visible things, and has asked what is at the ground of them. If we can, in deepest awe, but also with calmness and certainty, give the answer, all forms and orders and visible things will repeat it. We shall see them in a new light ; they will have a new meaning for us. We shall satisfy, not stifle, the questionings of others ; our own ground will be what it has ever been, but we shall *know* that we are standing on the Rock of Ages.

LECTURE I.

HOW THE NEW TESTAMENT FULFILS THE OLD.

HEBREWS I. 1—4.

God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.

CHRISTIAN apologists have perhaps been inclined to overrate the effect of the argument for the divine origin of their faith which is deduced from its small beginnings and its wide diffusion. No doubt the facts upon which this argument is founded must make a great impression upon any one to whom they are presented for the first time. A thoughtful man listens to the words which occur in the Gospel for St. Andrew's day*: "*Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea,*

* This Lecture was delivered on St. Andrew's Day, which fell last year on Advent Sunday.

for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left their nets, and followed him."

He remembers that he is hearing this narration in the capital perhaps of some country in the West, inhabited by a people altogether unlike in manners, government, knowledge, to that which dwelt beside the sea of Galilee; a people nevertheless which has for centuries revered the names of Andrew and Peter, and received these records of their lives as oracles. Or as he hears the Gospel for Advent Sunday, he may reflect how One who entered upon an ass into the chief city of a section of a province of the Roman empire, amidst the shouts of a few of its poorest inhabitants,—to be cast out presently after as an ignominious and blasphemous pretender by its rulers and great men,—to be mocked and put to death by their heathen masters,—has been acknowledged as King of the World by the most enlightened part of the empire which Tiberius ruled, and by nations unknown to him. Thoughts of this kind *may* lead to the questions: Whence came this wonder? To what power should it be attributed? But quite as often, when the sensation of surprise has worn off, they suggest a very different kind of speculations. The contrast between the actual state of Christendom and the character of the Book to which it appeals as the charter of its foundation, seems so great as to destroy all practical connexion between them. "These Jewish records," it is asked, "and this European world of ours, what have they really

in common? Something may have been bequeathed by them to us,—but what can they tell us of the changes which have taken place even in that belief which we have received from them? How can they give us any information respecting the effects which mixture with the habits and feelings of different races, the progress of society, new discoveries, and greater degeneracy, may have wrought in it? How, for instance, can they explain the secret, that Christendom should be divided about the meaning of its own existence,—that one portion of the European nations should confine the name to themselves—that the others should denounce these as having departed from the principle upon which the name rests?” Such questions were often put in Bishop Warburton’s days. He foresaw that they would not cease to be put in ours. He believed that they could be answered. He desired that his Lecturers should resolutely face the whole difficulty; that they should assert the truth of the Christian Religion on the very ground of the correspondence between the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament and the history of the Christian Church; that they should not shrink from what might seem the most embarrassing part of the problem, but should especially devote their attention to the subject of the Romish Apostacy.

These injunctions may perhaps be literally complied with if we consider prophecy as contained in certain words, and look for the fulfilment of it in certain isolated events. But the Bishop seems cer-

tainly to have intended that we should examine the character and context of later history ; and I question whether we can enter much into the meaning of the Jewish Prophets unless we examine the character and context of their national history. It is not their main office to unfold the future : first of all they explain the present ; they told their countrymen what was implied in their actual position, and how they had abused it ; with what significance everything about them was pregnant ; how unmeaning their lives had become. We wrong them grievously when we deal with their words as if they were oracles uttered in some moment of wild inspiration ; with their books as if they were a collection of Sibylline leaves. The power which they possess of announcing that which must be, seems to be involved in their divine gift of perceiving the eternal under the temporary—the substance through the shadow : for they are certain that the counsel of the Lord will stand ; the unwillingness of men to recognise his purpose will not frustrate it ; in acts of mercy and judgments he will unfold it more and more clearly to the Heart of the true Israelite ; in due time it will be *fulfilled*.

This fulfilment then would seem to be the accomplishment of a purpose or idea which had been latent in earlier times ; which had been gradually making itself manifest to the divinely instructed Teachers ; through them to as many as profited by their teaching. If this be the case, we cannot be wrong if we ask the Scriptures to tell us

what this divine purpose is; by what process of education men in the old time were made conscious of it; what effects are promised from the full revelation of it. If we are willing to compare these expected results with the condition of the world since the time when the Scripture records leave us, we at least shew that we do not shrink from the test which the founder of these Lectures wished us to use. And this mode of applying it may, I think, better than any other, meet the demands of a modern historical student. In general he does not care much for coincidences; those which are presented to him by Scriptural interpreters he is apt to regard either as merely fortuitous, or as produced by an ingenious distortion of words and facts. What he seeks for is some law which may connect together the different facts he has observed in ecclesiastical or general history; he is willing to hear whether Scripture recognises such a law; he will admit only this proof of its superiority to any which has occurred to himself in the course of his meditations, that it better explains the actual course of events, and more successfully clears away apparent anomalies.

Such a student, however, may feel a reasonable distrust of any one who professed to extract from the whole series of Biblical documents the purpose or idea of Jewish history, and to watch its rising from dawn to noonday. Nor, I think, can the distrust of a looker-on possibly equal that which every one who has undertaken the task, and expe-

rienced repeated discomfitures in it, must feel of himself. The first, therefore, may naturally ask, Can your New Testament be what it professes to be—a key to the meaning of the Old—if it contains no book especially devoted to the illustration of this subject? The latter, being confident that God will not leave his creatures without the necessary helps for knowing that which it has pleased Him to reveal, will seek diligently to ascertain where he is to look for a guide through this labyrinth. And I believe he will not be long in finding what he seeks.

There have been differences of opinion from the earliest times respecting the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews; even its right to a place in the canon of Scripture has been disputed. But it has never, I think, been doubted that the writer, whoever he was, whatever weight is due to his testimony, intended to set forth the relation between a dispensation which he believed was passing away and one which he believed was commencing. No external evidence is required to shew that this was his object; it exhibits itself at every turn to the most careless reader. To an ordinary historical student of our day, it is a matter of indifference what the outward claims of the book are; he may look upon it merely as the production of a very early Christian Jew, thoroughly acquainted with the institutions of his country, loving them affectionately, yet convinced that a sentence of death was upon them, and that they would not perish without giving place to something better.

Considered in this light, it must, I conceive, be very interesting; it *may* supply that key to the interpretation of the other parts of Scriptures which we desire. Those who are thoroughly convinced of its authority will, of course, examine it with quite another feeling. They will expect to find, and gladly recognise in it if they do find, a guiding light to their own inquiries respecting the dealings of God with man. What help it may afford to one performing the office which has been committed to me, all I think will acknowledge who know how directly it bears upon the leading points of the controversy between Protestants and Romanists; how it forces us to consider those points, in their historical as well as their theological import; above all, how solemn and awful and practical its character is, reminding us that we are occupied with realities which concern our own lives, and the life of every human being, and restraining, if any thing can restrain, the disposition to indulge in the hateful chicaneries and pettinesses of religious disputation.

I propose then, in my first three Lectures, to shew that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews sets forth a principle which he affirms was implied in the Old Testament, fulfilled in the New; that he traces its gradual working and development through the former; that he helps us to understand what changes would be wrought by the full manifestation of it.

If I am permitted to deliver the three Lectures

of next year, I propose to shew that under different aspects this principle is the central one in the other books of the New Testament; in the first three Gospels, in the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and in the different writings of St. John.

In the third year, I shall hope to apply this principle to the history of Christendom, in the period of its growth out of the Roman Empire,—in the period of its direct conflict with Mahomedanism, and in what is commonly called the Modern Period, dating from the commencement of the fourteenth century.

This inquiry will have brought us into direct contact with the Romish system. But, in order to complete the course, and carry out the intentions of the Founder, it will be expedient, in the last three Lectures, to consider that System formally, in reference to the Scriptural principle we have been elucidating, to the working of that principle in the Church, and to the future destinies of the world.

The plan which I have laid down relieves me from the necessity of introducing my inquiry into the scope of the Epistle, by a discussion respecting its author. Those learned men who reject the ordinary tradition, have done so because they think the purpose of the writer, though it may harmonize with that which they discover in St. Paul's writings, is yet not identical with it; diversities of style and the opinions of several early Churches, especially in the West, come in to corroborate the conclusion which they have formed upon this ground. On the

other hand, the most obvious external differences have not prevented earnest students from continuing to think of it as the work of the Apostle to the Gentiles, because there has been a persuasion consciously or unconsciously in their minds, that the object of his life would be less intelligible if this letter were not regarded as one expression of it.

On every account, therefore, we should postpone this inquiry till we have ascertained what the main characteristic of the Epistle is, and are able to compare it with other parts of the New Testament. Nor am I at all afraid that the credit of the letter should suffer while this point remains undecided, or even whatever the decision upon it may be. Those who have convinced themselves by experiment that it binds the different books of Scripture to each other and to the history of mankind, will believe that it is entitled to a place among those books, let the writer of it be who he may, (for the tone of the Epistle, its most obvious, as well as its most minute, peculiarities, determine it to the apostolical age); those who do not care for its contents will scarcely devote any practical attention to it, though they supposed that the whole college of apostles had been engaged in the composition of it.

The questions—to whom was this letter addressed, and what was the occasion that suggested it—cannot be thus passed over, for they bring some of its most striking peculiarities immediately under our notice. Among these, every one must have

observed the exceedingly earnest tone of the practical exhortations. In a book possessing more of a systematical and logical character than any of the writings of the New Testament, it might have been supposed that these would be thrown into the background, that they would not be allowed to interrupt the course of the argument. But they recur at every turn, they enter into the very substance of the letter, everything else seems subordinate to them. In their character they are different from those we find elsewhere. They are not simply warnings against certain evil tendencies or false opinions, such as we meet with in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians; they express very distinctly the writer's fear that those whom he is addressing are likely to become apostates from the faith of Christ.

Persons who have formed exaggerated notions of the purity of the apostolical churches—notions certainly not derived from the only authentic record which we possess respecting them—may well be startled when they read such warnings as these. But surely the surprise is much heightened when we consider *what* body it was which was thus addressed. Other indications in the Epistle leave us in no doubt. Its title—if we could depend certainly upon its authority—might lead us to think of those Jews dispersed over the different provinces of the Roman empire, who had believed Jesus to be the Christ, those whom St. Peter addresses in his Epistle. But if these Jews were not absent

from the mind of the writer, (and it is difficult to suppose any part of his nation absent from his mind), they were not the persons to whom a letter especially concerning the worship of the temple, the priesthood, and the holy city, would most apply. Such objects might be present to the imagination of the distant Jew; they were constantly present to the eyes of those who dwelt in Palestine. We must then believe they were the members of the mother-church of the world, the successors or survivors of those who were baptized when the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost, of whom the fear was entertained by one who knew them and loved them well, that their faith was becoming daily weaker, and that they were in danger of losing it altogether.

And yet it is remarkable that these Hebrew Christians are not charged with open and conscious departure from any truth which had been delivered to them by their early teachers, with any apparent abandonment of the duties belonging to their own peculiar position. The one complaint of them is, that they had been content with their first imperfect apprehensions, that they had not laboured after a fuller and deeper knowledge; that they were still eating the food of children, when, by reason of their years, they ought to be capable of that which nourishes men. This, the writer of the letter intimates, was their characteristic vice. It may seem to be anything but of a deadly kind; their friendly teacher is most willing to believe that it

is not; still he could trace too many indications of the decay of Christian belief and energy, which had been the effect of it, to doubt that if it were suffered to grow, all the culture they had received from apostles and martyrs would be utterly in vain.

The grounds of this fear it must be well worth while to ascertain for our own profit, as well as for the illustration of the Epistle.

1. We should always recollect that the Jews who believed Jesus to be the Christ, looked upon themselves as the real Jews; their countrymen they charged with rejecting the true heir of David, Him who had come to fulfil the covenant made to their fathers. When, therefore, the apostles, after the day of Pentecost, went up into the temple at the hour of prayer, this was no concession to the prejudices of others, no conformity to an inveterate habit. They felt that none could have more share in the worship of that Temple than they had. While the Priests and Levites permitted sheep and oxen to be sold in it, their Master had driven them all out, because He would not have his Father's house turned into a house of merchandise. He had warned them indeed that the time would come when not one stone of this building should remain upon another; and everything which had taken place since the prediction was given, made them sure that some awful judgment must be overhanging their nation. But they were not to anticipate this judgment: while the Temple stood, it was God's temple; while the sacrifices were offered, they were

the sacrifices which he had appointed. St. Stephen, undoubtedly, may have uttered words which offered an excuse for the charge, that he had said the Temple and the customs which Moses had delivered would be abolished; but we cannot in the least gather from his defence that he thought the present use of either was to be abandoned: rather, we perceive his deep reverence for them, as the shrines of a presence which their fathers and they, because they were uncircumcised in heart, had been despising. No change was produced in this feeling by St. Peter's visit to Cornelius; the opposition to it shewed how thoroughly Jewish the disciples were; nor, when they yielded to the Divine demonstration, did they recognise in it anything else than a fulfilment of the promise, that the Seed of David should reign over the Gentiles.

The mixture of Greek proselytes with the regular Hebrews in the Church of Antioch, and the common name of Christians which was given to them, doubtless by the heathen inhabitants, no further affected the Jerusalem Christians than as they were led, perhaps, more zealously to avail themselves of the privileges of their own position. This effect was certainly produced by the report which reached them that St. Paul had founded societies composed even more of Gentiles than of Jews; that he had ordained elders and deacons over them, had addressed each of them as an *Ecclesia*, a body called out or elected, language which seemed

strangely to interfere with the idea of the children of Abraham as *the* elect separated family. Yet St. Paul had in every city gone first into the synagogue; the ground of his churches was Jewish; he, as much as any apostle, had spoken of the promises made to the fathers; he too went up to the feasts and purified himself in the temple. From the conversation which is recorded in the twenty-first chapter of the Acts, it is evident that St. James, who was the presiding apostle over the Jerusalem church, not only obeyed strictly the injunctions of the Mosaic law, but practised those portions of the ritual which were merely permissive and voluntary. The testimonies respecting him, from the Jewish historian and the oldest Christian annalist, abundantly confirm this conclusion. They agree in representing him as one for whom the Jewish people at large had the deepest reverence. He was felt to be the righteous man of the city by all the parties which existed in it. His practical holiness was assuredly the strongest witness which could have been borne against the formalism of the Pharisee, and the heathenism of the Sadducee—against the infinite religious divisions and deep moral debasement of his nation. It was a witness that the disciples of Jesus were not, as their adversaries called them, a Nazarene sect, seeking to bind themselves by a new name. It was a witness for the sacredness of the old dispensation; the absence of which would have turned the

Gospel into a mere speculation, and would have made the other preachers of it unintelligible to those who most professed to admire them.

Yet it is not difficult to understand how persons calling themselves the disciples of St. James, and fancying themselves such, because they were vehement partisans of what they supposed to be his doctrine, might pervert, nay, invert, his example. What in him was a thankful determination to use all the blessings which had been given him as a Jew, that he might enter into closer communion with the Lord of the whole earth, would become in them a determination not to associate with uncircumcised people. What was in him sanctification from the habits of a divided and exclusive world, would be in them exclusiveness and division in another form and under another pretext. What in him was the acknowledgment of his Master as the Divine Fulfiller of the Covenant to Abraham and David, would be in them a notion of Him as merely the servant of that Covenant. And yet this mighty difference may have been quite imperceptible to these Jewish Christians. The phrases which denoted their state of mind might be those which they had borrowed from St. James; their feelings of reverence for holy places, and of affection for their Jewish calling, might seem to be the very transcript of his. But the contrast would appear in the whole tone of their lives; above all, it would reveal itself after his death to those who expected, as he did, the destruction of the City

and Temple—who felt that the loss of such an intercessor, and the crime which had occasioned it, must hasten the coming judgment. These persons will have seen that while he by his words and life was preparing himself, and, so far as he was able, his flock, for this judgment, it would overtake his pretended admirers as a thief in the night. Those Jewish institutions which they had been connecting with all their devotions, all their hopes,—for the sake of which they had forsaken the assembling of themselves together as members of a Christian community, would pass away with a great noise. Where would they be found after such an earthquake? What faith had they which could survive it?

2. But it would be doing these Christian Jews great injustice to suppose that they merely contemplated the preservation of the Jewish polity, with all the miserable accidents by which it was now surrounded. They knew how the priesthood had been degraded by the Herodian family, and how continually it had been a mere tool of the Roman procurator; they knew that the law had been depraved by Pharisaical traditions; they knew that the whole of society was in a more thoroughly evil condition than it had been in the days of Jeremiah, before the great captivity. But had not Christ come to restore the tabernacle which was fallen down? Had he not declared the true sense and spirit of the law? Had he not, by the poverty of his life, borne witness for a more than patriarchal simplicity?

Thoughts exceedingly like these must often have been presented by St. James to his disciples. In them lay the deepest truth. It seemed as if they could scarcely be turned to an evil use. And yet how easy was it to dwell on the words—Reformer and Restorer—till the significance of these same words was utterly lost. If Christ were only what they intimated, He might have told certain great truths; He might have hinted at great and desirable improvements in men's social condition: but He had accomplished nothing. He might be greater than all previous teachers: but the universe, and men, and their connexion with God, were still a riddle. All the questions which men had been asking themselves for so many centuries—all that had been implied in the existence of laws and governments, of priesthoods and sacrifices, had not been practically explained by this great Prophet. There had been a vision of something bright and good in the world, which could not, doubtless, pass away without leaving some shadows behind. But it had passed away, and that with which, in the minds of these Hebrew Christians, it was inseparably interwoven, would pass away also. If it were so, then the Covenant with Abraham, and all the institutions of which they spoke so much, seemed to have been but pompous inanities; they had promised much, and performed almost nothing.

Would not these reflections force themselves more and more upon the minds of those who used this language? Would not they receive an awful

interpretation, a seeming confirmation, from the day which was at hand. Must they not look forward to that day, not as a day of redemption, but as one of discomfiture and dismay? When it actually came, would they not be found to have lost, not only their Christian, but even their Jewish position?

3. The habit of mind I spoke of last, led the Hebrew Christians to dwell upon our Lord's poverty and humiliation, because these were the great contrasts to the pride and pomp from which they supposed He came to purify their countrymen. But it was impossible, while they called themselves St. James's disciples, always to rest in these thoughts. They knew that their teacher had spoken of Him, not only as poor, not only as entering into every human sorrow, but also as divine. Both truths had been distinctly asserted by him. They knew that he did not feel them to be irreconcilable. But how were they to be reconciled? The Jewish Scriptures spoke of *angels*. Might not these be intermediate beings, floating between earth and heaven, far below Him who filled all in all, far above His creatures in this world? Might they not be permitted, for certain great ends and at certain times, to put on actual or apparent human flesh, and to dwell among men? Might not our Lord be one of them: perhaps the chief of them all? Speculations of this kind, closely connecting themselves with the idea of the Messiah, occupied the minds of the deeply-thinking Alexandrian Jews, and presented themselves in more vulgar and practical forms to the

despised Samaritan. Shortly after the fall of Jerusalem they were found working mightily in the minds of those who had believed in Jesus; and, blending themselves with those views, apparently so simple, which represented Him as the Great Reformer, as the poor man*. I have endeavoured to shew in the next lecture how little the Angels actually spoken of in the Old Testament belong to this region. They must therefore have already taken hold of the Church in Judæa. But whither would they lead?

That middle region between heaven and earth is the home of all the demons of Greek Mythology, yea, of all the objects of human worship which in later or earlier times have shadowed forth the deepest wants of man's spirit, his sense of his own evil, his sense of the blessings and curses of the outward universe. The forms of idolatry, therefore, which the Jewish law had denounced,—which the Jews had believed that the GOD of Abraham would destroy, were likely at once to invade the heart and conscience which entered into this strange circle. And though these forms had at this time lost their definiteness and much of their beauty, they had not lost their potency. It was a time when men were beginning to talk largely about emanations from the Divinity—when old idolatries were

* I have adopted the meaning of the word *Ebionite*, which I think is now generally sanctioned. The nature of the connexion between the Ebionite and Gnostical opinions I hope to examine more fully in some illustrations which I propose to append to these Lectures when they are complete.

evaporating into impersonations of spiritual qualities or natural powers—when shapeless monsters of Superstition were produced from a union of Atheism with the terrors of an evil conscience, fearing where no fear was. Even in Rome, though the religion had become a mere state machinery,—though the wonder which Cicero expressed, that two augurs could meet each other with grave faces, was daily becoming more reasonable,—though the emperor was the one really acknowledged god of the world—dreams and portents, and Babylonian numbers, never exerted a greater influence over the mind of the tyrant and the slave, the soldier in the camp, and the matron in her closet. Where then could a Christian Jew, who once began to look upon the invisible world as a region for his fancy to work in, be expected to stop short? His Lord would soon be regarded as one of a multitude of godlike personages or symbols, or emanations; his direct Christian faith would disappear altogether. But it would carry along with it his Jewish reverence for the one Lord, the Jehovah. Nay, the very Paganism which was left as a deposit, would be something infinitely less real than the Paganism of former times,—a collection of shadows, with scarcely the hint of a substance,—of images, with scarcely the dream of an archetype.

There was ground enough then for the apprehension which at first seemed so strange, that the Christians of Palestine might become, in the strictest and largest sense of the word, Apostate. And

yet any one rudely attacking those notions and habits of mind which were rapidly leading to this point, must have attacked precious truths,—must have undermined the reverence which these Christians entertained for the Apostles and Martyrs, from whom they had received them. Unless every one of these convictions could be shewn to have a real ground,—unless their belief in the sacredness of the law and covenant of the Father could be deepened,—unless they could be made to see that Christ had indeed come to fulfil, and had actually fulfilled, this law and covenant, and stamped them with precisely that kind of permanence which the Scriptures had said was belonging to them,—above all, unless their dim notions of something Divine and something Human in the Person of their Lord, could be taken out of the cloud-land of fancy, and be proved to have an eternal basis, adequate to sustain both the past and the future,—they could not be prepared for the calamities which were threatening them, or be saved from an utter shipwreck of faith. To these points, therefore, the writer of the Epistle addresses himself in the words I have taken for my text, which are, I believe, a key to the whole Epistle.

“God,” he says, “*who in sundry times and divers manners spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath made heir of all things; by whom also He made the worlds. Who being the brightness of His glory, the express image*

of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.

The antithetical character of this paragraph has been often noticed, and is very obvious. But it has been strangely supposed that this form was adopted as a rhetorical artifice, such a one as would be familiar to a Hellenized Jew, bred in the schools of Alexandria. Surely it is not necessary to refute such an hypothesis, by proving or assuming the Divine authority of the Book. If a writer who believed that the last and saddest crisis of his country's history was at hand, and who had awful apprehensions of the moral state of the persons whom he was addressing, could deliberately set down for the purpose of balancing sentences, and making words jingle,—we must at once dismiss him, as destitute of all truthfulness and all human feeling, as incapable of conveying instruction to his own age or to any other. The rudest utterance which could convey his meaning was the one which a good man, writing at such a time and under such impulses, would have chosen. But if any truth, or portion of the truth, he had to deliver, was brought out with greater clearness in this antithetical form, he was bound to use it—for him it was the most simple and natural. The charge of artifice lies against us who invent what we call rules of composition, or canons

of taste; calling this style easy and genuine, that recondite or elaborate, without bringing either to the only test by which the worth of any style can be tried,—its fitness to embody the thoughts which are entrusted to it. The more we study this passage, the more, I think, we shall feel that if the writer had refused to be antithetical, he must have sacrificed, not some accidents, but the very essence of his meaning; must have utterly failed to make his design in the letter intelligible*.

The paragraph opens with two words, which our translators have rendered “In sundry times and divers manners†.” The last phrase is open to no objection. The first is generally allowed to be unsatisfactory. The words of St. Paul, “We know *in part*, and we prophesy *in part*‡,” exactly explain the original expression. In it, no doubt, is included the idea of an adaptation in the teaching of the prophets to the *times* in which they appeared. A plague of locusts might require one kind of revelation, an Assyrian invasion another, actually approaching captivity, a still deeper one. But the leading thought seems to be, that there were many parts or divisions

* The second Homily of Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews, is particularly worthy of study, as illustrating the practical value of the balancing clauses and opposed words in this paragraph. Each word in the clause ‘Ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα had, he shews, been the plea for some heresy; the full idea is expressed in the union of the apparent contradictions.

† πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως.

‡ 1 Cor. xiii. 9. Ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν.

in the prophetic harmony; that no one utterance embraced the entire mystery, and that each portion had its own 'manner'—that form of history or discourse, of song or vision, which was fittest for setting it forth.

To the Hebrews of the Christian age these prophecies presented themselves as a series of documents which could be read, translated, commented on. The power of contemplating them as parts of a whole was, no doubt, a valuable one; but it might easily be turned into a curse—the Scribes and Pharisees had actually made it one. For while they worshipped the letter of the prophecy, they forgot that it had proceeded from the lips of living, suffering men, and had gone to the hearts and consciences of actual men. It is not idly then, or without a meaning, that the writer reminds his readers very frequently throughout the Epistle that the words were 'spoken:' if they were to be felt, they must be felt as spoken words, not merely as the words of a book. If they were so felt, the language, "God spake them," would be also acknowledged as real, and not mere formal language. The people who heard the prophet, whether they were awakened to repentance, or whether they turned away in rage from the reprover, confessed his voice to be a Divine voice. It discovered evils within them which no mortal eye could have seen. It brought out that which was working confusedly in their spirits into awful clearness; it brought past and present and future before them, as one for them and one in

Him, who is, and was, and is to come. There was no questioning in their minds how this could be. If they believed a man to be a prophet at all, to be speaking true words to them, they believed God was speaking in him. They had no doubt that He spoke to their fathers out of the midst of the fire; that voice had proclaimed the law which was laid up in the ark of the tabernacle. It could not be a different voice which was carrying home this law to their inner man; which was making them sure that it was as true for them as for their fathers; that they had broken it as their fathers had; that they were within the scope of all its blessings; that its curses were about to be fulfilled in them. Nay, did not the voice of this human speaker seem, in one sense, to be even more divine than that which came forth amidst the thunders? It was less terrible to the outward ear; it seemed to convey more the assurance of a personal presence to the Heart. The whole education of the Jew was designed to withdraw him from outward and visible things. The material terrors which the people saw in the wilderness had passed away—if they were renewed, it was in plagues and pestilences and earthquakes, or in the hosts of Sennacherib. In these the voice of God might be heard, but the words of him who made that voice intelligible, who declared why it was uttered, what internal corruptions had provoked it, must seem to come from even a more secret and holy place.

But though their fathers, at each actual crisis

of their history, might have confessed that God was speaking in the prophets, it must often have been a sore difficulty to them to reconcile this conviction with what they had been told—with what these prophets told them—of the Unseen and Eternal Jehovah. Why did holy men arise except to testify that no creature might measure itself with the Creator; how was it then that these creatures, these men of like passions with themselves, whom they saw going in and out among them could dare to say that the word of God was in them? It was a mighty perplexity, the perplexity of the Jew's life: mingling itself with every thought of his nation, of himself, of the Divine Lord. His race was taught to consider itself elect and holy. Yet they were a stiff-necked people, a people of unclean lips, guilty of rebellions which no heathen could be charged with. Being in the covenant, he must look upon himself as righteous, and whenever he drew nigh to God, he knew that the belief was no delusion: yet he was conscious of infinite evil. He dared not think of God, except as the High and Holy One who inhabited eternity; he dared not doubt that men, nay, that he himself was intended to bear the image of this High and Holy One.

Strange contradictions these, which, if they had rushed at once upon the mind of any man, must have crushed it. But they came, like the revelation of the prophet, in sundry portions and divers manners; and as each new difficulty arose, there

came with it the sense of a solution, of one upon which it was possible to act even then, and which would be complete, all sufficient, one day.

That day, says the writer of the Epistle, has come; we are "at the end of those days" to which the prophets belonged. And now God hath spoken to us by a *Son*. If a proof were wanting how little the antitheses of this passage had been introduced for the purpose of oratorical effect, what essential and pregnant parts they are of the meaning, we should find it in an oversight of our translators respecting this clause: an oversight so slight and natural, that one could hardly have attributed any mischief to it, and yet which has, I believe, darkened the sense, not of a single sentence, but of the whole Epistle. By substituting the possessive pronoun for the indefinite article—*His* Son, for *A* Son—they have removed the emphasis from the right word; they have led readers to take the word 'Son' as a chance synonyme of Christ or the Messiah. Were it only this, there would be no connexion between the rest of the chapter and this introduction, nor would either have any direct application to the circumstances of the Hebrew Christians. The passages which the writer quotes from the Old Testament are not meant to prove that a Messiah was expected by the holy Israelites. Every Pharisee would have admitted that assertion. The Christians of Palestine did not require to be told that Jesus was the Messiah of whom the prophets spoke; every act of their lives in-

volved that profession. The real question to debate with the first was, What kind of Messiah did your fathers look for? with the second, What manner of person is he whom you recognise under that name? The writer of the Epistle says: Only to a Son of God belong those words of the Old Testament, which denote, as you Pharisees believe, a Messiah; only to a Son of God belong those acts which you Christian Jews attribute to Jesus of Nazareth.

The illustration of these two assertions, and of the method by which he establishes and connects them, I reserve for another Lecture. But for our present purpose it is very needful to observe *how* he describes that Son in whom God was speaking; "*Whom he hath constituted heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.*" We often say that Revelation is progressive, and the writer of this Epistle abundantly justifies the language. But by *progress*, some seem to understand a continual journeying away from the inmost centre; a movement towards the circumference. Here we seem to be taught that each step of it is bringing us nearer to the ground of things—nearer to the throne of God. The revelation of God in this sense is truly the unveiling of himself. First, He speaks in that which is most distant from Him, the mere things which He has formed; then in men whom He created to rule over these things; lastly, in Him who by the eternal law is the inheritor of all things, in whom and for whom they were

created. The order of the world, the succession of ages, spoke of the permanence of God. Here He speaks in Him by whom He framed the order of the world, the succession of times. At each step we are led into a higher, more awful region ; yet not into a region more remote from humanity and human sympathies : rather, into one where humanity has reached its highest point ; where every faculty and affection and energy has its full expansion and fruition. Things, in themselves cold and inanimate, are found to have a personal centre ; the course of time, in itself dead and abstract, to have a living Mover. It is the Son of God, "*the brightness of his Father's glory, the express image of his substance.*" Glimpses of his glory we have seen in his creation, brighter glimpses in the love and tenderness of human creatures. Here is He from whom they have both proceeded ; here is the mystery which the prophets perceived in different portions, and expressed in divers manners ; here is the whole WORD, of which they uttered different syllables. Men are told that they are made in the image of God : how it could be they knew not. Here is his express image, not shewn in the heaven above, nor in the earth beneath, but in a man. In Him creation has subsisted, in spite of all the elements of confusion and discord within it. "*He has upholden it by the word of his power.*" In Him we find how humanity has been a holy thing, though each man felt himself to be unholy. For the moment He clothes himself with all its vilest acci-

LECTURE II.

THE DIVINE EDUCATION OF THE JEWS.

HEBREWS II. 6—8.

But one in a certain place testified, saying, What is Man, that thou art mindful of him? or the Son of Man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.

THE first words of this Epistle contain, as I have said already, the key to the whole of it. '*God spake to our fathers;*' this is the announcement of the principle upon which the history and life of the Jew rested. All that was earnest or brave in his acts or words came from the conviction: "We are the Lord's servants; He has actually made himself known to us; He has actually chosen us to be his people. He is actually reigning over us." Every thing that was cowardly, sensual, idolatrous, in him from a want—secret or acknowledged—of this conviction; from forgetfulness of the Covenant; from the feeling, "After all, the law did not come forth from any unseen Being; the human prophet did not utter the Word of the Lord." Resort to what explanation of the Old Testament scriptures we will; imagine

as many interpolations in them as we please, we cannot construct them upon any basis but this. The moment we attempt it, the records become a collection of incoherent fragments. It does not require learning and ingenuity to prove that they do not form a whole; they cannot form one; that which gave them their unity and their relation to each other, is gone. The Jews were not a nation unless the Divine Covenant was a reality, and not a fiction; they have no history if the books which pretend to contain it are a record of certain limited speculations about God, not of that which He spoke to man.

God hath spoken to us by a Son. This is the announcement of the fact which the New Testament unfolds. Put any other fact in the place of this: say that the books of the New Testament are setting forth an idea, and not a fact; say that they are occupied about a great many subjects, and not with this one,—with others only as they bear upon this one—and it requires no great learning and argument to prove them a collection of incoherent fragments; they can be nothing else: you have taken away the bond which holds them together; of necessity they fall to pieces. Try to re-construct them upon some other ground, and you will soon discover what a hopeless, unintelligible mass of materials you have to deal with—materials which, by no possible processes of elimination or re-formation, you can bring into any reasonable order.

But the object of the writer of this Epistle is not only to set forth that which is assumed in the idea of a revelation, and that which was characteristic of the later revelation; he wishes to shew that the later was implied in the earlier; that the prophetic speech was a riddle until it was explained by the speech in a Son; that only those who acknowledged such a speech as the one adequate Divine utterance, could understand their own oracles. That he may establish this point, he refers to a variety of passages from the Old Testament. To understand the use he makes of these passages is the only real difficulty in the interpretation of the Epistle: he who evades it must cast the whole aside as unintelligible; he who overcomes it will find, I think, clearness and brightness where he had found most obscurity.

There are some quotations in the first chapter of the Epistle—very important for the elucidation of the subject, and for the removal of a practical error—about which there is no perplexity. They refer to angels. These, the writer says, are always spoken of in the Jewish scriptures as mere servants, ministering spirits. No divinity is assigned to them; they are sent forth upon errands of mercy; they are represented as doing works for man, not as claiming to be his masters or to mediate between him and his Creator. That idea of mediation may indeed be traced through the Old Testament: not, however, in its allusions to angels, but in its language respecting

one of whom it is written: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

Here the difficulty, of which I spoke, begins; one which has greatly exercised simple readers of the book, and theological students still more. The passages which follow seem to be connected with certain events which were occurring at the times in which they were written, events in which the individual speaker, or the nation generally, was deeply interested. Are we to suppose they did not refer to those events? Or had they a double sense, like a heathen oracle? Or was a later writer permitted to put such a sense upon them, it not being originally in them? Every commentator has felt that he must meet these questions. The actual answers have been chiefly three.

Some assume that a New Testament writer could, in virtue of his commission and inspiration, pronounce such and such a meaning to be the true one; we are bound to receive his interpretation, however much it may differ from the one we should naturally have given.

Another class of interpreters say: No doubt we ought to accept the dictum of an inspired writer. But ought we from one so gifted, merely to expect a certain exposition of a few specific passages; should not we rather receive him as a guide to the right principles of interpretation. May we not suppose that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is putting his sanction upon the use of allegory; is stamping it as the true divine method of construing the Old Scriptures, and so is tacitly, and by

anticipation, confirming the application of it by later doctors?

“Would it not be more correct to say, cry the teachers of an opposite and bolder school, that the writer of the Epistle had learned the allegorical system of the Alexandrian Jews; that partly because it accorded with his own feeling, partly as an *argumentum ad hominem* for those whom he was addressing, he adopted it readily; that by doing so he promoted the formation of a very perverse and perplexing system in the Church; that in spite of his authority, we must return to a fair and legitimate consideration of the original text—from which his translations sometimes depart widely—and must give it the most literal meaning we can.”

Perfectly agreeing with the first school, that the interpretations in this Epistle are those which we may adopt most safely in reading the Old Testament, I am equally disposed to think with the second, that it is not like a Divine instructor, not even like a great human instructor, merely to give us specimens of a method of unravelling that which is important and sacred, without initiating us, in some degree, into the method itself; and I am thoroughly at one with the last, in the conviction that reverence for Scripture should bind us to seek for an exact meaning of the passages quoted; which meaning can only be ascertained by considering the occasions which called them forth, and their historical contexts. But as I am at issue with the first in their opinion, that

it is safe at any time to contemplate Scripture merely as a set of words; so am I with the other two in the belief which is common to them, that the writer of this Epistle has^{not} ever resorted to allegories, or has, in a single instance, overlooked the circumstances under which the words which he adopts were uttered, and the meaning they must have suggested to him who first heard or spoke them.

There is a certain ambiguity in our use of the adjective 'literal.' We sometimes take it as a synonyme for 'exact;' sometimes as the opposite of 'spiritual' or 'internal.' In the latter sense we describe by it that kind of result which is obtained by *merely* looking at words and syllables—a result of which we may pronounce at once that it is almost worthless; for no man who merely spells out a sentence, without considering who spoke it, to whom it was spoken, when and where it was spoken, will find what it means, scarcely that it means anything. The most exact interpreter is the one who takes most heed of everything which illustrates the book or sentence he is considering; which raises it from a dead utterance to a living one. Exactness of this kind I hope to shew presently may be predicated of all the references in this Epistle; the absence of everything allegorical in it must be ascertained by another test. Let the reader calmly compare it with any of the books, Jewish or Christian, which are confessedly allegorical, and I shall be very much surprised if he is not struck with some-

thing more than a difference—with a direct opposition between them. I will give two instances, merely as hints; they might be multiplied indefinitely. The writer of the Epistle, in alluding to the Temple-worship, mentions the cherubim and the mercy-seat. Of these, he says, we cannot now speak particularly. Could any allegorist have resisted the temptation to speak most particularly on these subjects? Would not every circumstance of their form and position have furnished the text for endless analogies and spiritual applications? The writer of the Epistle spends a whole chapter upon the faith of the elders of the Jewish nation. That faith is illustrated by their common acts, their ordinary daily history. Abraham lives in tents, and waits for a son; is ready to offer him up. Moses is hid three months by his parents; refuses to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. Could an allegorist have endured such vulgar events as these; would he not have dwelt on the significance of the names of the patriarchs; would not each act of their lives have been treated as remarkable because it was the type of something Divine or something future? And generally it may be affirmed that this writer, instead of seeking for shadows, is impatient of them—he is always desirous to translate them into something practical and substantial. While the allegorist avoids nothing so much as history, treats institutions as earthly secular things, the writer of the Epistle shews, as it seems to me, that the history and institutions of the land were the

very instruments through which the Divine revelation was made to his countrymen, and by which their minds were awakened to receive it. The passages which he quotes were all connected with different portions of the Jewish constitution, all familiar to the Palestine Jews in that connexion. So far from suppressing this fact, it is his great desire that they should take notice of it. His whole art, if art it may be called, seems devised for the purpose of impressing this conviction more deeply upon them. Sometimes he dwells on a significant word, sometimes he neglects words—not quoting or translating with strict accuracy—if, by a deviation from the letter which would be instantly recognised, he could bring the subject of it more vividly before them, and shew them that not in the words themselves, so much as in the fact or institution of which they spoke, lay the principle which he is setting forth. By such means, I conceive, he most effectually counteracted what was mischievous in his countrymen's reverence for institutions, while he justified it and placed it upon its right ground. For he shewed how that which they were disposed to worship for its own sake had been a method of Divine education to bring out the great idea of a Son; the idea which was realised and fulfilled in Jesus Christ. The steps of this Divine education mark, it seems to me, the pauses and stages in the Epistle; if we trace them through it, we shall appreciate more fully its worth as an exposition of Scripture and of history.

I. I think it is evident that the passages quoted

in the first chapter refer to the office of the Jewish KING. With one exception, they are all taken from the Book of Psalms. But that exception is a very significant one. It is: "I will be to Him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son." These words occur in the 7th chapter of the Second Book of Samuel. We are told there that David, after he had overcome his different enemies, designed to build a Temple to God. A prophet informs him that his purpose is approved, but that it shall not be accomplished in his reign: "When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels. He shall build an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his Father, and he shall be my son." Every Hebrew would at once turn to this passage as to the title-deed of the Jewish kingdom, the formal enunciation of the principle upon which it stood. The words affirmed directly that God had set it up; that the visible king held of the Invisible,—was a witness of His power and presence. They declared that the house of David, the family reigning from generation to generation, denoted the permanence of the Divine rule, and the permanence of the nation in Him. So much all would have confessed. The object of the writer is to shew that more was contained in this document than the mere establishment of a human kingdom by an act of Divine will. When He who established it said, "I will be to him a Father," he signified that there was

an actual relation between Himself and the human monarch, yea between Himself and the nation and all its members. This was the mystery which had been felt by every true Jewish king to be the basis of his power; to be that which made it real power; to be that which separated it from arbitrary power: losing this faith, he became a self-willed tyrant. Yet it *was* a mystery, and one which it might require ages to unfold.

That a Greek should look up to one who as he believed dwelt on a high Thessalian hill, in the midst of a council of warriors, like his own chiefs, and should say, "Father of gods and men," was nothing strange. That a Hebrew king should dare for a moment to use such language, to indulge such a thought, respecting the I AM: Him whom no man had seen or could see, Who dwelt in thick darkness, from Whom the Law had come forth amidst lightnings and thunderings, this was wonderful. Was it that the awe of Jehovah had grown less since the days of Moses? No; surely we can find no deeper expression of it than in the songs of the shepherd-king, in Solomon's consecration prayer. As the sense of nearness to the Divine Majesty became more realised, it seemed that its awfulness was more realised also. How this could be, must be learnt from the experience of those who lived under this kingdom; and to them the Epistle next refers. The quotations from the Psalms seem purposely taken from different parts of the history, that we may see in what opposite circumstances,

through what conflicts with foes, individual and national, the idea was developed in the minds of holy Israelites, of One to whom the words, "I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son," might be strictly spoken, and in whom they must be spoken to the visible King.

The second Psalm speaks of a time when Jewish and Heathen foes were both rebelling against the anointed king. The holy man, whether he were the king himself or some other, is sure they will be confounded because there is a king seated not in the royal palace, but on the hill of Zion, where the Invisible Presence dwelt, to whom the Lord is saying, "Thou art my Son." The writer of the 97th was probably surrounded, in Samaria, or in Phœnicia, by worshippers of heroes and demigods, who taunted him with atheism, and it may be awakened doubts in his own mind whether homage to an unseen being could be real. The thought, "The Lord reigneth,"—He *is* the true King,—comes to his relief; but it expands into another, without which it would be insufficient—the assurance that the King would raise up a true image of himself to put down all false images; that there was One to whom he was even then saying, "Worship him, all ye angels," heroes, gods, whatever ye be. The singer of the 45th Psalm, living in some time of festivity, celebrating a royal bridal, has the vision of a higher king, one perfectly loving righteousness and hating iniquity, the true bridegroom of the nation and of humanity. The writer

of the 102nd, "sitting like a pelican in the wilderness, like an owl in the desert," "reviled by his enemies all the day," is sustained by the belief of a king who would reign over his own people and over the heathen, because "the earth was His; He had of old laid the foundation of it, and the heavens were the work of His hand; they might perish, but He would endure." Finally, the writer of the 110th Psalm who probably saw no external signs of royalty, but who lived when a priest was fulfilling the office of the civil ruler, perceives that the perfect King must unite the priestly and kingly functions, and that to such a one the Lord is saying, "Sit thou upon my right hand till I make thy foes thy footstool."

These were, of course, passages upon which a Hebrew would delight to dwell, as indicating the glory of his nation, the special privileges which belonged to it and were in reserve for it. But was this all that they actually—all that the holy men of past times felt—that they denoted? Surely not. David had asked, in those words which I have taken for my text, and which throw the clearest light upon all around them, "What is *Man*, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet." He was led to feel not only the greatness of himself, or of an Israelite, but the

greatness of man through this revelation of a Divine King.

The elevation of the Jew could not be meant to degrade the race to which he belonged; must be meant to raise it, to bear witness of the state for which God had created it. The first records of Jewish history had declared that all creatures were put under man, that he was made the king of the world, and in the image of God. As yet the words seemed to be but poorly realized: the ruler seemed to be the slave of the servant; the homage of the creatures to man was often exchanged for his homage to them; one death claimed dominion over them both. Still the feeling lay deep in all human hearts, that dominion over the earth, intercourse with heaven, were intended for them; still they had wrestled with Death as if it were a strange intruder, an unlawful usurper. The vision then of one in whom not the Jewish nation only, but humanity, had its true head and representative, must be realized. And did not the Hebrew Christians believe there was one who had exercised kingship here on earth over all material things, had proved the great tyrant to be an intruder and had overcome him? Though they saw not yet all things put under man, did they not see Jesus, who for the suffering of death was made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honour?

II. The Jewish king especially embodied the idea of dignity, glory, and superiority. These qualities were, no doubt, often exhibited in deepest

weakness; they involved condescension to the meanest; the history of David shewed that the anointed ruler might be the fugitive and the outlaw. Still these were not the first recollections which would present themselves to any one considering the office, nor did the writer of the Epistle desire they should. The tendency of those whom he addressed was to lower the dignity of man; to make him the servant of angels. This tendency they exhibited even when they spoke truly and nobly of Christ as the poor man; for they meant by those words that He was nothing else, that He had no royalty.

But there was an order of men who brought this character directly before the mind of the Jews. The prophet or holy man was indeed the reprover of kings; he interpreted the nature of the office; he showed how it must be fulfilled; but he was himself the suffering Israelite. To this part of the economy the next quotations in the Epistle evidently relate: they touch upon the person of the prophet—upon his individual feelings, and the witness which he bore, by his life rather than by his words. They show how he whose inspiration most raised him above other men, became, in virtue of that inspiration, more completely their brother, even in the depth of their sorrow; how it obliged him to greater trust, to more entire dependence than other men; how, instead of lifting him above human relations, it turned those relations into means through which he himself apprehended, and enabled others to apprehend,

the divine relation. There is a strange ambiguity in the words which the writer of the Epistle wishes us to take notice of. It could only be removed when it was clearly shown, how he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one. As the idea of a king could only be realized in one who showed that he had dominion over nature and over man; so the idea of a prophet could only be realized in one who showed that he had entire fellowship with the lowest estate of men, in one who because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, himself took part of the same; who, because they were all their lives long subject to the fear of death, himself entered into and overcame it.

III. In each of these offices, that of the King and that of the Prophet, there had been evident signs of incompleteness—a witness of something mightier behind, which would be revealed: And each seemed obviously to require the other; the meaning of neither could be fulfilled till they were united. But was there this incompleteness in the character of Moses, their first legislator? Was not the practical authority of the Divine King marvelously united in him with that of the suffering Prophet? Had not the awful Name been spoken to him out of the bush? Had he not been forty days and nights in the Mount, in communion with the LORD GOD of Israel? Yet had he not also been the guide of the people through the desert, bearing their burdens and sins, feeling with them, interceding for them? There must have been

a thought of this kind in the mind of every Jew ; and these Christian Jews who were disposed to look upon their Master as the great reviver and restorer of the Jewish law and polity would be tempted to it as much as any. If the writer had followed a chronological order he would have met this difficulty first. But he could not have met it effectually if he had not shewn beforehand what was implied in their later history, in the covenant with David, in the teaching of him and the holy men who followed him. He had gathered from them that a Son of God had been promised to the Jewish nation, and that its greatness could not be realized except in such a person. Now, admitting all the glory which was ascribed to Moses, it was certain that he had never claimed *this* honour—that he had expressly disclaimed it. He had proved himself a faithful servant—the servant in a great house or family which God was raising up. If there were such a Divine family, it must have a ruler as well as a servant. The acts and words and office of Moses, too, must have been a prophecy; a Son of God must have been implied in them, who should fully realise the idea of one admitted into the Divine converse, and sharing human griefs. The legislator must be a witness of things to be spoken hereafter. Did not the journeyings of the Israelites through the wilderness, as they were felt then, and interpreted afterwards, betoken an imperfection? Their state was one of progress and transition. They were on their way to a place of rest—a rest to which Moses

was not allowed to bring them. All the way this promise was set before them; they were to trust that it would be fulfilled,—their distrust was the cause that they, and even that their leader, died without seeing the land.

IV. Into that land, however, Joshua led them. Was not this then the accomplishment of the promise? This question leads the writer of the Epistle to notice another Jewish institution—one which had been pronounced holy by Moses, but in such language as showed it to have been possessed from an earlier time,—one which had mightily affected the life of every Jew, and which he still preserved with almost idolatrous reverence. The sabbath-day had been expressly connected with the hope of a rest in Canaan. But the keeping of it had been enjoined in other and solemn words, which connected it with the Rest of God. The twofold idea of God resting in the beholding of that which he had made, and of man resting in the beholding of God, had been embodied in it. And all through the writings of holy men (one or two passages might serve as an index to hundreds) we trace the sense of a higher rest, not attained by the conquest of Canaan,—of a day implied in that sabbath-day,—of something in its meaning not yet accomplished, though the works had been finished from the foundation of the world. No Jew, the writer contends, could understand the Scriptures, could expect the fulfilment of the promise made to the Fathers, who was not looking for such a rest: he must be repeat-

ing the sin of his forefathers—the very sin for which they had fallen in the wilderness, the sin of resting in the present and the visible, of not confessing their relation to an unseen Lord, and looking to have all the darkness which hung over that relation removed. Nothing but the acknowledgment of One in whom God could rest and man could rest—in whom the fellowship between heaven and earth was fully realised—could satisfy the meaning of the sabbath-day, or those hopes it had awakened in the hearts which truly profited by it.

V. And such a one he goes on to say must be a priest, the High Priest of the Universe. This office was naturally more prominent in the eyes of a Hebrew Christian of this time than any other. It might be much degraded in its present possessors, but it was that which Aaron had fulfilled; they had the law which ordained it; they had all the intervening history of its preservation and restoration. This subject henceforth becomes the leading one of the Epistle. The course of the argument may be shortly traced. First, the writer considers what a Priest must be. He is appointed for man in things that pertain to God; he must therefore share the feelings and wants of men, and there must be clear evidence that he does not take the office himself, but is called to it by God. So much the Jew would at once concede, and he would say, ‘Our priest satisfies both conditions. He is one of our nation; he belongs to us and feels with us, yet he is one of a tribe openly designated by the

words of the Law, to this express service.' True, says the writer of the Epistle, but does this legal designation of a Priest satisfy the idea of the High Priest which your holy men, brought up under the Law, themselves had? The 110th Psalm speaks of a Priest after the order of Melchisedek—speaks of such an order as the highest conceivable. What kind of order was this? Your early records tell you that Abraham, returning from the slaughter of the kings, found a priest already dwelling in that which was afterwards the holy city. His name denotes him to have been a king. Nothing is said of his father or mother, or of the nation to which he belonged; yet Abraham, the father of your nation, the ancestor of the Levitical tribe, recognises his right to the office which he holds, and performs an act of homage to him. And the Psalmist thinks of *this* kind of priesthood, resting on no formal enactment, denoted by no tribe or national distinction, as the highest of all. He evidently supposes that a priest may be—that the highest Priest must be—called to his office in some more direct, absolute way than by an outward Law, however solemnly proclaimed. And does not the writer of the Psalm himself intimate what the designation of such a priest must be? The oath—'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;'—must lie at the root of such an appointment: only a *filial* priest can satisfy the idea of a priest. Only one who, like Melchizedek, is both king and priest,—only one who is manifested by some tokens to be a Son of

God,—can really satisfy the first condition of a perfect Mediator. He goes on to say, that only such a person can satisfy the second condition—that the sinfulness of the priest was itself a hinderance, the great hinderance, to that entire fellowship and sympathy with a sinful creature, which is implied in the idea. Only One, holy, harmless, separate from sinners, could really be so touched with the feeling of their infirmities, as to be the needful Intercessor for them. Only One who has been on earth, and suffered death, and passed into the heavens; only One who is now at the right hand of God, could have that permanent priesthood, which the legal succession in the family of Aaron had indicated. Only One who had actually gone out of the visible world into the presence of the unseen God, could lead men into it.

VI. The idea of a constitution anterior to all formal enactments, grounded, as we might say, in the nature of things, or, as it is here expressed more devoutly and accurately, on the “oath of God,” has been distinctly brought before us in these remarks upon the priesthood and upon Melchizedek; it has evidently been assumed throughout the letter. Upon it the writer proceeds to ground another doctrine. Christ, he says, being ascended on high, has become the Mediator of a New Covenant. Now the Jew’s Covenant was of all things the most sacred in his eyes. He might reluctantly acknowledge that the coming of Christ had made it more comprehensive, that the Gentile had been admitted

into some of the privileges of it. But it was made expressly to his fathers and to him ; the highest gift he could claim was the fulfilment of it. No conviction could be sounder—his teacher would by all means strengthen him in it. But what fulfilment was he looking for? The priesthood was felt to require something deeper than a mere ordinance or appointment. The Covenant, too, must rest on something deeper. Their prophet Jeremiah had felt that it must. He had spoken of a New Covenant to be made in the latter days—of which this should be the tenor : “I will write my laws in their hearts, and in their minds will I write them.” The prophet had evidently seen that the Covenant, too, was based upon something older than the mere choice of a particular family or nation. It must be referred to that constitution in the Son of God, which exalted not a nation only, but mankind. It, too, could only be fulfilled, according to the prophet’s anticipation, by the ascension of a Man to the right hand of God ; by the gift of the filial Spirit, who should indeed write the Law in the heart of the worshipper—who should change it from the law of a carnal commandment into the power of an endless life.

VII. Having established the twofold assertion, that Man was brought into the presence of God by the ascension of Christ, and that he was treated as a spiritual being, to be ruled and guided by God’s Spirit, he proceeds to consider the divine Worship. The ark which had gone along with the Jews through the desert, the temple which was raised

on mount Zion, had testified to them from generation to generation, that the Lord was in the midst of them. Their disbelief of it had been their greatest sin, the ground of all other sins. And yet this Temple had itself borne witness that there was something hidden from the view of the worshipper. There had been a veil over the mercy-seat. They had been reminded by those very figures which they prized so much, that into the pure and perfect presence of Him whom they served they were not yet admitted. Yet surely everything in their Covenant and their discipline had been teaching them to be satisfied with nothing less than this. Everything had been meant to draw away their minds from the visible to the invisible, from the shadowy to the real. If they had entered into the temple-worship—if they had really sought the Unseen Presence—they could not be content until the figures were exchanged for the reality; until they had the power of entering into that reality—of holding actual and awful communion with the living God.

VIII. But what was the Veil? Those other services, the purifications, told them what it was. There was something overshadowing the heart of the worshipper, which separated it from Him to whom it would draw nigh. It was the inner man that aspired to that fellowship with the unseen God. It was within, in himself, that he found the obstruction. All the appointed ceremonies for the purification of the flesh, reminded him of the fact, but could not change it. The Covenant told him that there was

something from which he must be separated, in order that he might be united to God. The blood which was sprinkled on the book of the Covenant, upon the worshippers, and upon all the vessels of the temple, seemed to connect purification in some way with death. All this was a wonderful education, doubtless, for the mind and spirit of the man; but, like every other part of the Jewish discipline, it was leading him to perceive a relation between the Creator and himself, which must subsist in a living person, not in a *thing*—an animal; leading him to expect that that Person would in some manner shew what *sacrifice* meant, what death meant, how that which seemed to divide every creature from the other, and to be the witness of his separation from God, could be the instrument and bond of his reconciliation.

IX. That the psalmists and prophets of the Jews learnt to feel that all purification was insufficient which did not reach the conscience, their solemn confessions and prayers abundantly prove. The 51st Psalm is only a specimen—though it may be the most remarkable—of the tone which pervades them all. But the mystery of Sacrifice itself, though connected with the purifications and with every other Jewish service, yet stood out distinctly as if it involved something deeper than all the rest; and it had revealed itself to them through still more fearful struggles and doubts, sometimes reaching to despair. The writer of the Epistle refers to the 40th Psalm, as illustrating the whole subject. He

whose feelings are described there, seemed to himself to be sticking in deep mire where no ground was. There was a fathomless abyss within him which no ordinances of God, no provisions of his grace that he knew or could imagine, were able to close up. But he waited patiently for the Lord, and by degrees he saw implied in that Institution, which of itself availed him nothing, One who could offer the real, acceptable sacrifice; One who could say, "Lo! I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, to do thy will, O God...Yea, thy law is within my heart." This entire consent of the will to the divine will, he saw must be the ground of all sacrifice. Resistance to that divine, loving will, he saw had been the curse and misery of man—that which divided every one from his fellows. He who delighted to do it, who had the law in the heart, must be *THE Man*. He must fulfil the idea of Man; and yet He must be the Son of God, in whom the very Being and Character of God would shine forth. All other notions of sacrifice, he saw, were either leading to this or else were false: this only could take away the sin of the world, its disobedience and selfishness. He who could offer it must be the reconciler of God and man; the living complete atonement between heaven and earth; He who by the Eternal Spirit offered Himself to God, could alone purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God; could alone give that Spirit by which all creatures united in Him might offer themselves as sacrifices well pleasing to the Father.

Thus far we have traced the evolution of that great truth which, according to the writer of the Epistle, lies at the root of the new Economy through the different portions of the old. I would beseech you not hastily to exchange this view of the Jewish Scriptures for a more modern one. Oftentimes learned men seem to satisfy themselves with a phrase of this kind, "A Theocratic Idea lies," they say, "at the basis of the Jewish commonwealth." Now I am far from affirming that such an expression means nothing to those who use it. They should ask themselves seriously *what* it means,—should determine that they will not be the victims,—as so many in all ages have been—of their own generalisations. Still it may convey the kind of apprehension which they have upon this subject more correctly and honestly than a form of language which would seem to me more real and living. But I would earnestly remind you, that we do not by such paraphrases attain to any nearer conception of this writer's meaning; that, on the contrary, we destroy it altogether. *He* thought that the living God had actually made Himself known to the Jewish people; that He was their King and Teacher; that their institutions were His institutions; that through them, and through every event of their history, He was educating them to the knowledge of Himself. This education he affirms was bearing towards one object. He would speak to men in the latter days by a Son; by One who had always been a Son; who was the brightness of His glory and the express image of

His person; in whom He made the worlds. By what methods He unveiled this Son to the hearts and spirits of His servants, shewing them that He was implied in every part of their polity; that their life, personal and social, was intelligible only in Him; that they could only attain their true stature as Israelites and as men, when they were permitted fully to behold themselves and to behold God in Him, we learn from those passages which I have here been considering. It seems to me that we cannot gain much by reducing these passages under the general formula, 'They merely set forth the theocratic idea of a Jew:' but that by patiently considering them, we may know, a little better than we are wont to do, what that theocratic idea was. We may find that it was no notion of a Being sometimes interfering by strange acts in the administration of this world's affairs; or of a sovereign determining of his mere pleasure that a certain nation should be better than all others; or of a lawgiver laying down arbitrary rules to be observed under certain terrible penalties, and the promise of certain rewards. These notions might arise very frequently in the minds of Jews; they had such a relation to the truths which they counterfeited, that it was easy to justify them by particular words and acts viewed apart from the whole sense and object of the revelation. But they were, under one form or other, precisely the notions which the prophets of old had rebuked; in opposition to which they had proclaimed the Lord God of righteousness, who, by a divine

order, devised, directed by Himself, was leading His creatures away from the idols of sense which divided and brutalised them, into the knowledge of Him, the unseen and living Lord, the God of all the families of the earth, and thus into the free exercise of the capacities which that knowledge alone could satisfy, and of every other capacity which He had bestowed upon them for their good and His glory.

LECTURE III.

THE FILIAL DISPENSATION.

HEBREWS XI. 39, 40.

And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

HOWEVER desirable it may be to understand rightly the sense in which the Jews were subject to a divine Ruler, we are often told that the question is one only of historical interest. That crisis which the writer of the Epistle looked for, was, it is said, the termination of theocratical government. This opinion seems to be maintained with almost equal strength by those who believe the Jewish theocracy to have been real, and by those who suppose it to have been a mere conception or habit of thought characteristic of a Semitic people. The former express themselves in words of this kind; ‘The Jewish nation stood alone in the world. The other nations were under a general providential direction; the Jews were in a peculiar sense under a divine King. Not merely the provision for their bodies, the time of their births and deaths, was appointed by the Lord of all; the order of their society was established and directed by

Him, towards a particular end. When that end was accomplished it was no longer needful that such a government should exist among men. The awful words, which were heard in the temple, 'Let us depart,' the events which interpreted these words, showed that it had ceased. The Canon of Scripture became the one record of its existence. The others speak thus: 'In the infancy of society it was desirable, perhaps necessary, that men should feel themselves under some mysterious guidance. Not only the Hebrews spoke of such a rule; each nation fancied it had some tutelary divinity; most were led by conquests, or by mixture with other people, to enlarge their mythology; thus they lost the definite sense of a Governor which they had at first; some, the Greeks especially, by degrees found a philosophical explanation of their early personifications. The Hebrews, separated by circumstances and rigid customs from other lands, preserved the feeling of their tribe for a much longer period; the priests kept it in existence by artificial contrivances when the nation had really outlived it; at last it could endure no longer; the army of Vespasian destroyed it along with the shrine in which it had so long dwelt. Thenceforth the world began a freer course; often, indeed, haunted and oppressed by the old theocratic decrees revived and assuming new forms; but gradually emancipating itself from such dreams, and struggling toward a period of full developement, when they should be dispersed altogether.'

We may concede at once to this last class of reasoners two points in which they are at variance with the former. In whatever sense the Jewish nation was peculiar it was not so in this sense, that it alone of all people recognized a divine government. In whatever sense the Jewish institutions were peculiar they were not so in this sense, that the other nations had nothing corresponding to them. Among those which we have seen passing under the review of the writer of this Epistle, only one was exclusively Hebrew. The sabbath-day belonged strictly to the Israelite. Kings, prophets, lawgivers, priests, temples, purifications, sacrifices, were to be found everywhere. Will it be said that there was nothing common between these names in the Hebrew and the Gentile use of them? Does not history tell us clearly that in every land the conviction existed, that the visible king must have an invisible counterpart; that there must be men whose words proceeded from a fountain of inward inspiration; that law must have a divine authority and sanction; that buildings must be set apart to some distinct permanent object of worship; that the worshipper must be separated from earthly pollutions; that the worshipper must offer to the God that which had been given to him, that which was dearest to him, even himself. Had not these institutions a like signification to the Jew? Was he sent into the world to tell men, 'The convictions which your institutions indicate are false, are untenable, are merely the fruits of your own invention or wit?'

Was he not rather commissioned to say, 'These convictions are true; deeply true, and you *must* have received them from God. For see how you have corrupted them by your inventions. The invisible King is not the image of the visible, but his archetype; the inspiration of the prophet is wholly spiritual, not produced by the exhalations of any fountain; it is the I AM, not a wood-nymph, who teaches the lawgiver; the priest enters an unseen Presence of which he may conceive no likeness; the idol in the Temple destroys its witness for the distinction of God from the works of his hands; purifications must signify that it is the inner man who approaches the unseen living God, or they signify nothing; sacrifices must express the submission of the lower will to the true divine absolute will, they cannot be the means of bringing the higher will into consent with the lower.' Was it not the great sign of the Jew's high calling, that he was able to bear this witness to the world, against its evil tendencies and his own? His covenant was, "In thee and thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." I cannot conceive a clearer evidence of the reality of his covenant, a more wonderful explanation of its meaning than this, that he did not trample upon the faith of mankind, but justified it; preserved it from perishing under the mass of evil with which it had become encrusted; foretold that the blessing which he expected for himself would satisfy the desire of all nations, that the glory of Israel would be a light to lighten

the Gentiles. From first to last he testified against those idolatries which of necessity divided the nations from the one Lord in whom they might be one. There is no pretext then for the notion that the theocracy would of course pass away, when the exclusive position of the Jewish nation became no longer tenable, because it was bound up with that exclusive position. Suppose it to be a truth, and not a fiction, it was a truth for mankind; it was asserted to be such by the cries of all the people of the earth; it was asserted to be such by the Jewish separation.

If, on the other hand, it were a fiction, and not a truth, I quite admit that it, like all other fictions, could only last a certain period, and that the destruction of Jerusalem was an event which was as likely as any to determine its existence,—nay, was one which it could scarcely survive. Only I contend that those who maintain this hypothesis, must do something more than merely repeat the phrases, ‘proper to an infantine state of society;’ ‘preserved beyond its natural date by the skill of priests;’ ‘crushed at last by the Roman legions’—which may be so easily repeated when they have once been learned by heart. It becomes them to show by what other belief than this, that the unseen Lord was their King, the Israelite was preserved from that subjection to sensual impressions, which is commonly considered a great characteristic of infancy, and was characteristic of him in spite of his Semitic derivation. It becomes them

to show by what other faith than this he was enabled to resist the taunts and persecutions of priests and prophets in a hundred groves and high places, who accused him of being irreligious, even atheistic, and whom he could only answer by saying, 'Whether I be irreligious I know not and care not; I adhere to the Covenant which God made with my fathers and with me; I obey his law.' Lastly, they ought to consider whether the belief has ever passed out of the heart of any living man, that his personal and social life is as sacred as the course of the planets and the succession of day and night; whether that belief has not been strongest when men have been most brave and free, weakest when they have been most base and cowardly; whether it be not easier for one whose heart and reason are awake, to think of the order of nature as exempt from the habitual government of a divine will, than to think of himself, his relations to his fellow-men, the evolution of events, the order of history under such a condition?

The writer of this Epistle certainly could not have borne such a contemplation. His mind had been formed in the belief that the more perfectly man is brought under the divine government, the more blessed his state is; that to escape from it is to be accursed. His conviction that the greatest blessing the world ever received had just been vouchsafed to it, did not change this belief, but deepened and established it. He speaks of the Patriarchs as *looking for* "a city which had founda-

tions, whose builder and maker was God." Their faith, he says, substantiated the promise, but they did not receive it: the actual gift was reserved for another day. Nay (and he applies the words to the Jews in every stage of their history) *they without their children could not be made perfect*. He exhorts the Christians of his day to believe that *they had received a kingdom which could not be moved*. He tells them that the coming earthquake, *which must shake not earth only, but heaven*, would make it manifest. The natural inference from such words certainly must be, that our Lord's ascension would lead to the establishment of some fellowship of a larger, deeper, diviner character than that which had existed formerly. I cannot understand how they could convey any other meaning to a Hebrew Christian.

He knew what had been told him of the fathers of his nation. The sense of belonging to a divine kingdom had gone with them all their lives through; the dread of death which sometimes seized them was the dread of not finding that kingdom again when they had passed into the unseen world—of being beyond the region of the divine order and government. The hope which sustained them was, that He who is and was and is to come, must reign, here and everywhere: that there could be no corner of His universe over which He would not one day assert his dominion. And now, says the writer of the Epistle, He whom they looked for is come, the Son over the house; the King in whom the right

is. And the *city that hath foundations* is revealed, and you have received a kingdom. His discourse of the past swells into poetry. His vision of the present and the future becomes almost a rapture. Could he mean to deceive those whom he was thus preparing for the most tremendous of actual calamities? Must he not have deceived them, if his sense of the words 'city and kingdom' did not in the least correspond to that which for generations had been affixed to them?

There is, however, a passage wherein the writer speaks *of a world to come which is not subject to angels*. Here, it has been said, he undoubtedly alludes, not to an earthly, but a heavenly society, to one upon which men enter after death. If so, why may not this passage determine the meaning of those which are more ambiguous? Why may not the City and the Kingdom, as well as the 'World,' point to a state wholly celestial? I have no doubt that all these words do express the same idea; that one as much as another denotes a state, in the purest, strictest sense of the words, *heavenly*; that this state is one which nothing but death can fully disclose to any human being, seeing that He who opened it did Himself first overcome the sharpness of death. But if the world which is not subject to angels, be one into which men do not *enter* till death, the argument of the Epistle would be set at nought. The writer of it maintains that by Christ's resurrection and ascension he had claimed for man the blessing of fellowship with Him who is Lord of angels.

In the earlier stages of his growth, when he had not yet understood the highest capacities of his being, though they were unfolding themselves under the divine education, when he had not yet realized his true position—though God was in different methods discovering it to him—there was reason enough why he should feel himself subject to angels, why he should suppose that they stood between him and the High and Holy One. His privilege, his duty, was now utterly to deny such subjection, such mediation; to reject it as treason against that Lord who had taken his nature and invested him with his spiritual glory.

You see at once that this statement would have been worth nothing, if it had been possible to reply, ‘Yes; after death we may doubtless come into a state like that which you describe; on earth we must still, according to your own shewing, remain subject to angelic rulers, be dependent upon the help of angelic intercessors.’ The world to come whereof the Epistle speaks, cannot then, I conceive, answer to our ordinary notion of a future state; it must denote some kind of order established among human beings even here; one which was not yet shewn to be the divine order of the universe, but of which Christ’s coming was to all who understood its meaning, the clear indication, the corner-stone. In that sense it will accord perfectly with the idea of a city or kingdom, to which the Jew had been trained by his long course of discipline. For he had never been taught to look at the invisible world as

altogether separate and remote from that in which he was living. In the daily toil of life, amidst his flocks and herds, amidst his children, on the judgment-seat, in the battle-field he had sought God and found Him. Could that have seemed to him a more perfect state of things in which heaven and earth should be hopelessly divided? Above all, could this be the effect and blessing of His appearing, who was the Son of God and the Son of Man, who had perfectly hallowed each, and who was gone up on high? Would not the change he had reason to expect, be rather that the dream of a ladder set upon earth and reaching to heaven, should now become a firm, substantial reality?

But what indications were there that such a society would rise out of the ruins of the Jewish commonwealth? Every institution which the heathen had received as the witness of a connexion between the visible and the invisible world, which the Jew had recognized, as proceeding from the Lord of all, had lost its original meaning, had become changed into something which contradicted and subverted that meaning. The idea of a king ruling in the name of an unseen King, was surely not preserved in the Herodian princes, or in any of the tetrarchs or sovereigns, who governed by the permission of Rome in its provinces. Practically that idea had been merged in one part of the earth as much as another, in the acknowledgment of an emperor, a commander of armies, in his own apprehension and that of his subjects the real King

of kings and God of gods. The Prophet, from whom men had asked a higher truth than they could discover for themselves, was converted among the heathen into the lying augur; if any one claimed the name in Judæa, it was on the warrant of being a more reckless assassin than the rest of his countrymen. The Law in which the Greek had heard the Eternal Voice, upon the awe of which Roman greatness had stood, was believed to rest on the will of the Cæsar; the confidence of the Jew that he possessed *the* divine Law was an excuse with him for the perpetration of every crime. The sabbath-day had been a main reason for calling Christ a blasphemer and condemning him to death. The priesthood in all lands seemed to have grounded itself upon the denial of anything not visible. Abominations were set up in all temples, might soon be set up in the temple in Zion. The rites for purification were changed elsewhere into filthy orgies—the Jewish rulers were practising them at the time they taught the people to shout, “Crucify Him!” before Pilate’s judgment-hall. Sacrifices were prized in Rome and Jerusalem, as means of purchasing the right to sin.

If from these spectacles you turned to the different Christian assemblies, there was indeed, amidst much that was discouraging, a beautiful realization of human brotherhood, of devotion to an unseen object. But how would a bystander, especially if he were a Jew, have regarded the ordinances by which these societies were distinguished? Would he not

have said, 'Truly you preserve the ceremony by which we admit Gentile converts to the privileges of the outer sanctuary; you say this is a sufficient sign to you of being admitted into God's covenant; you have again a rite which seems to be a bond, or love-pledge, to a departed Friend; you permit those whom He chose as His apostles to exercise a kind of fatherly government over you, and you have provided for a special emergency arising out of the outward, material wants of your members, by delegating some of the duties, which these apostles at first took upon themselves, to other officers. But can you pretend that such customs as these, which no awful penal edict proceeding from the throne of God has created or enforced, are anything to compensate for the loss of those sacred institutions which all nations have confusedly recognized; which we have received in their purity from the Lord of all, and by Him have been taught to understand?'

We might fancy that both these objections had been overlooked by the writer of this Epistle. His allusions to the ordinances which belonged to the disciples of Jesus, as such, are rare. He assumes the existence of Christian assemblies, for he warns the Hebrew Christian not to forsake them; he speaks of Baptism once or twice, perhaps once of the Eucharist; the fact that there were persons bearing rule in the Church, is mentioned incidentally, but the word which describes the rulers is the most indefinite that could have been selected. But the

Jewish objection to the dignity and sacredness of the Christian ordinances had been encountered in a far more satisfactory manner; the whole doctrine of the Epistle is an answer to it. The Aaronic priesthood was established upon a formal positive law; *therefore*, contends this writer, did those who possessed it feel discontented with it. They craved for a priesthood resting, not on an outward commandment, but on the oath of God. The priesthood is but one application of this principle, though perhaps the most remarkable. Each institution is shewn to be imperfect, in so far forth as it was merely an institution: till the eternal ground of it in the relation of Man to God, in the relation of the Divine Son to the Father, in the Self-affirming Being of God, was manifested, its truth and meaning were still hidden. When this ground had been declared, that converse of the spirit of man with God for which He had been educating it, would be in the fullest sense possible. Then the method, whatever it might be, which the divine Wisdom chose for setting forth the relationship of Humanity with God as a realized fact, and for enabling men, as sharers of that Humanity, to enter into the highest and most mysterious communion, would of necessity transcend all those previous methods, which, till they were seen in the light of that whereto they were leading, seemed only formal and arbitrary. Supposing this principle to be admitted, the Christian was entitled to say, 'Just because these ordinances of ours have that character which you have ascribed

to them,—because they do not come forth clothed with legal penalties, but were merely enjoined in a few loving words, because they speak of a relationship to One Unseen and to all His brethren, because they involve an obedience of the inner man to an authority which can enforce no other; therefore do they embody the whole mystery of that New Dispensation, which law and letters could only at a distance shadow forth and describe. Our Master was in the water owned as the Son of God, and the Spirit descended upon Him. We ask no other witness that it has pleased the Father to make us the sons of God in Him, and to endow us with His Spirit; no other proof that in us Jews, as well as in heathens, everything which is our own, everything which we do not derive from God, must and will be washed and purged away. Our Master said, the night he was betrayed, “This is my Body, This is my Blood. Do this in remembrance of me.” We ask no other proof than this bread and wine, that place does not separate from Him; that we are truly with Him now that He has ascended on high, as He was with us when he came down and was born of a Virgin and died for us: that being with Him, we are united to all who own Him on this side of death and on the other: that He can raise us to fellowship with them and Himself, enabling us to give up our own selfish position: that He can fill us with His own life, enabling us to give up our own life. We want no other ground for obedience to His Apostles, than the fact that


He chose them. A fatherly rule we feel to be the highest rule—one which speaks to our spirits, not to our senses. A filial subjection we feel to be the most perfect subjection, because it is that subjection of the spirit which only the Divine Spirit can bestow.'

Without the slightest exaggeration, then, the writer of this Epistle could speak of those whom he addressed, as having come to the heavenly Jerusalem, as being admitted into the company of the firstborn, to the spirits of just men made perfect, as being in the presence of Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, and of God the Judge of all. Either the ordinances which had been given to them meant nothing—were mere formalities and therefore impious—or they meant this; they implied an actual fellowship between earth and heaven; they declared that man had been brought into the condition for which all the discipline of past ages had been preparing him. They said that the revelation of the Unseen God, which prophets and kings longed for, had been made to the children of the Covenant; they said that the words of that Covenant, "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed," were fulfilled, for that the blessing—emphatically the Jewish blessing, the glory of Israel—the knowledge of God had by their seed been brought within the reach of all people and nations and languages; that a society had grown out of the defined, formal, national society which could have no limitation, because its basis lay in the original constitution of Man, that is to say,

in Him in whom all things were created; in his relation to the Father, of whose glory He is the brightness, of whose Person He is the express image.

The belief that a heavenly commonwealth or kingdom such as this was already established upon earth, might sustain a Jewish Christian in the prospect of any possible dissolution of that fabric which God had raised up for his fathers and for him. It would at once explain to him why he was not to look for any new Sinai, for the creation of any order of priests by any formal edict to succeed the tribe of Levi, for the sudden appearance of any heir of the throne of David, or of any new dynasty to assume the place of the old covenant kings. By such expectations he would have shewn that he had not entered into the divine purpose, that he had not taken in the prophetic idea, or was content to live without a real adequate fulfilment of it.

But was there no answer in the doctrine of the Epistle, to that part of the question which was suggested, not by a notion of the feebleness of Christian ordinances, but by the abuse and subversion of those institutions in which heathens and Jews had both discerned a proof of the Divine Presence? These institutions still existed: there was no reason to suppose they would pass away in that judgment which overhung the Jewish nation. If they survived it, what witness would there be upon earth that they had any worth—that they were not the original rightful property of the spirit of Oppression and Falsehood? The Jewish nation was bringing forth



something larger and deeper than itself; it would die in its travail. How would its child, the New Society, be related to these old social forms? Would it stand aloof from them; would it extinguish them; would it cast them anew? To an unbelieving Jew or heathen such questions would have sounded simply ridiculous. What could these insignificant little bodies, the oldest of which could hardly maintain its ground in the country of its birth, have to do with the great kingdom of the world? How could the policy of the emperor and the intricate machinery of pagan life be affected by the presence of these men, more than of any other fanatics or criminals who might from time to time require to be restrained by the sword of justice or by a contemptuous toleration? But supposing a person in that or any later day to have believed that a stone had been cut out of the mountain without hands, which must in time break in pieces whatever opposed it, would this Epistle give him any help in ascertaining whether all or any of these old institutions could co-exist and harmonize with that power which had grown up in the midst of them; and if so, under what conditions? Let us examine this question in reference to each of them.

I. The Davidean king had been a witness for the permanence of the nation in an Unseen Lord; a witness that the king and the nation were alike in covenant with this Lord, that their union to each other stood in their common allegiance to Him; a witness against all idolatry or confusion of visible things with the Invisible Lord, as destructive of

national existence ; a witness against all Babylonian attempts at universal dominion, as rebellious and impious efforts of the creature to become absolute and independent.

These principles and objects of the Jewish kingdom were formally enunciated by lawgivers and prophets; were interpreted by the progress of the history. In them lay the undeveloped truth that One who is the Son of God and the Son of Man is the real Head of Humanity; the promise that He would be manifested as the Lord of the universe. Among those who believed that this truth had been brought to light, this promise accomplished, was there any place for a visible king ?

If it were true that Humanity had been glorified, there could be no one claiming to be a king of *the* exclusively righteous *Nation*. Yet still less than in former days could there be one claiming to be king of the *world*; a Roman emperor must more interfere with the belief of a crucified man reigning over the creatures whose nature he had taken, than a Babylonian monarch had interfered with the belief of an unmanifested King seated on the holy hill of Zion. If ever the conviction became strong in any number of hearts, that Jesus of Nazareth was really the King of kings and Lord of lords, it must struggle with the pretensions of the Cæsar to that title, till one or other should be worsted. But if out of that kingdom a number of distinct nations should appear, would it be anything inconsistent with the idea of a new dispensation, that each of these should be ruled by

some man confessing allegiance and subjection to the divine Son; reigning under the conditions of a covenant; judging the people in His name; even carrying on a war with false gods, not wholly unlike that of the old Jewish monarchs?

Is there anything in that glorification of humanity and its forms whereof the Epistle speaks, to make such a result as this impossible? Might not one rather expect that if such a revival of national existence as I have imagined ever took place, this would be the great sign, in some sense the moving principle of it?

II. The Jewish prophet was a witness that men here upon earth are capable of receiving divine communications; that every true teacher must receive them; that only so far as he does receive them can he understand the past, the present, or the future, or sympathize with the wants and sorrows of his fellow men, or open to them the mysteries of God. The prophet, in his person as well as in his words, pointed to One who should perfectly fulfil these functions; should declare the councils of the Holy One, have entire fellowship with man, reveal to them the Father of all. Were those who thought that such a fulfilment had actually come to pass, to say, 'Now the office of the prophet is obsolete; we have no need of it'? Unquestionably they might have spoken thus respecting a multitude of accidents necessary to the Jewish prophet, partly in consequence of his exclusiveness, partly because the light was breaking

in gradually upon himself and upon those he taught, through mists and vapours; partly because, till man's relation to God was fully set forth, divine inspiration must have seemed, to a certain extent, sudden and fortuitous. Unquestionably also it was now less possible than ever for any man to call himself *the* prophet, *the* teacher of the world. Under what form soever such a pretension should appear, it must wrestle with the belief that the divine filial prophet had actually appeared, till one or other were overcome. But is it credible that the assertion, 'Man has been brought near to God; the Spirit of God has come down to dwell among men,' could *extinguish* human inspiration; could do anything but expand and deepen it, taking it out of the circle of strange phenomena, and exhibiting it as the rightful law of all thoughts, feelings, studies, acts; making it the anomaly and contradiction that gifts or powers by which any men, or any classes of men are made helpful to their brethren should seem to be self-originated, and not to have their first spring and well-head, their continual renewal, in the Perfect Wisdom?

III. If the office of the Jewish Prophet imported a communication between the Spirit of God and the Spirit of man, and a submission of one to the other, that of the Jewish lawgiver as clearly imported that resistance to the divine will is characteristic of man—that there are tendencies in all men which lead to that resistance. It declared that there is a distinct, formal, divine punishment, for

transgression ; that *every disobedience must receive its just recompence of reward*. This penal jurisprudence also was declared to proceed from the voice of God. Therein he spoke not by the creature, but directly, distinctly, terribly to the creature. The law was dispensed *by* the judge, or king ; he could not dispense *with* it. He was not its master, but its servant. Its decrees and sentences applied as much to him as to the meanest of his subjects. At the same time, as the book of Deuteronomy shows, (and that is but a key to all the books, and to the whole history,) there was a distinct recognition in every period of a meaning in the law which was higher than its letter ; of this meaning, as constituting its essential righteousness, as well as its mercifulness and graciousness ; of this meaning being that which the true servant of the Covenant sought to fulfil and delighted in ; the law of the Lord, in which he meditated by day and night. It remained clad in all its terrors for the evil nature which was in him ; he used these terrors to coerce it ; he knew that these terrors would prove their reality upon every one who set up idols in the place of God, or violated his neighbour's landmark ; yet to be told that there was no law, or that he was not under it, would have been the heaviest, most frightful curse which could have been pronounced against him. How was the case changed in that new dispensation which rested upon the acknowledgment of One who had the law in his heart, who was content to do it, who

perfectly fulfilled it? Assuredly there must have been this change. That idea which was but an idea under the Jewish economy of something transcending positive penal law, having been accomplished, in a Person, the law of life in that person, must be the highest utterance of the Divine will—penal positive law only the secondary and subordinate. Man must be regarded first in his true state, in his relation to God; his evil rebellious nature must be treated as a hateful excrescence to be cut off. But so long as that evil nature exists, and testifies its existence by its fruits, can it ever be pretended that penal law has lost its function, or is absorbed into a spiritual power and principle? As every distinction becomes clearer and sharper in proportion as the light is clearer and stronger, such a confusion would be even more incompatible with the character of the new economy than of the old. Supposing then the Christian Faith ever to become triumphant over that upon which the imperial power rested, supposing the acknowledgment of the Son of Man and Son of God to become the groundwork of society, one would surely expect, along with that revival of distinct nations and distinct national sovereignties of which I spoke, a revival also of reverence for Law, as having its source in the unseen majesty of God, its obligation in ‘The Lord saith.’ The deepest and most dreadful issues of all would indeed be connected, as they are in this Epistle, with the abuse of spiritual privileges, with the rejection of the divine voice speaking from

heaven. But it would be surely acknowledged, just so far as the Christian principle was acknowledged, that the Divine Voice did still speak also, in language suitable to earthly notions, fleshly apprehensions; that it might still be heard in every denunciation of specific punishments for specific overt acts against the peace and order of a national society; that the judge was still a divine functionary to discern the boundaries of right and transgression, and all the police of the country, civil or military, divine instruments for asserting the one, and preventing the other, or executing wrath upon it; so that whenever unrighteous decrees were made, or wrong deeds habitually perpetrated by these powers, they should be felt to be violations of a trust which He from whom it had been received would come out of his place to avenge.

IV. As an illustration of the last topic, still more for its own sake, the sabbath-day requires especially to be considered in its relation to the new economy. Its obligation to a Jew rested on a literal positive law; yet it belonged to a period earlier than all positive, literal law: it spoke, as the Epistle tells us, of a rest accomplished; it spoke of a rest unaccomplished; it spoke of a rest of God, the rest of Creation; it spoke of a rest for man, the rest of deliverance from servitude; it spoke of man's rest as the image of God's rest; of man's rest as only perfect when he entered into the rest of God.

According to the doctrine of the Epistle, the formal precept ordaining this as well as every other institution, was leading on to the discovery of a Person in whom its meaning was fulfilled; to the discovery of one in whom God and Man meet and are reconciled, in whom both may rest. Did this institution lose its significance for those who believed that this Person had been manifested? As in all other cases, the ground of the precept having been made known, the precept cannot be pleaded as a naked authority, apart from its ground. Any attempt to maintain a mere creation sabbath, because the commandment enjoins one, is to set aside the reason which the commandment itself gives. Some change therefore must be expected to take place in this appointment, or it would stand as an inexplicable anomaly in the new order of things. But could it be pretended that the relation of work to rest, which is set forth in the relation of the sabbath-day to the six—the difficulty of practically realizing and representing which was one of the main characteristic difficulties of the Gentile world, one which may be traced in all its mythology and philosophy—had ceased to exist, or needed less to be wrought into the order of time, into the tissue of human life, now than formerly? Could it be said, that because the meaning of man being made in the image of God was now revealed, the idea of the rest and work of man being images of the rest and work of God had lost its significance, or could less be expressed,

or less needed to be expressed, in a practical form? Could it be contended that, because Christ had glorified the estate of poverty, the rights of the poor man which this ordinance had so blessedly asserted, and had so connected with what is most divine, must not henceforth be put forth in so simple, direct a method, or that the method must no longer be regarded as divine? Could it be said that because Christ had fully entered into the rest of God, this rest should not any longer be felt by the weary oppressed creature as a reality dawning upon him through his ordinary earthly experience?

V. That same entering of the Son of Man into the perfect rest of God, which substantiates the idea of the sabbath, substantiates also, according to the teaching of this Epistle, the idea of the Priest. The Jewish High Priest represented the holiness of the separated, sanctified nation; he was divinely elected to this dignity as the nation was elected to its dignity. His was a family designation, as all the Israelites constituted a family. He was the head of a body, a family of priests, all called to their office by formal consecration; he the representative of the nation as a whole, they of its individual members. He drew nigh to God in the name of the nation, offering its sacrifices, setting forth the greatness and holiness of the nation to be not in itself, but in Him who had taken it into covenant. Yet in all these respects the Epistle teaches us the office was imperfect. The designa-

tion was imperfect; it was merely legal, not significative of a direct relation between the priest and the Lord of all. It was a tribe, not an universal office; he represented at best the purity of a nation, not of humanity. He only *represented* this purity, but did not actually shew it forth; he had for himself, as well as for the people, to make offerings for sin. He was not therefore effectually one with the whole people; sin separated him from them as well as from God. He did not actually enter into the presence of God; the figures of the Temple expressed that only at certain seasons the veil between the worshipper and his Creator could be withdrawn. Supposing the faith to establish itself, that a filial Priest had appeared, that He had the highest designation, that He was the representative of humanity, that He was perfectly pure, that He had perfectly sympathized with men, that He had sat down at the right hand of God—what place remained for priests upon earth? We must answer: If the argument of the Epistle signify anything, for a *High* Priest there could be no place. He who should assume to be *the* Priest of the Universe, would by that claim interfere not with some accident of the New Dispensation, but with its primary idea; with that which for ages and generations had been unfolding itself under the divine education. Such an effort, however it might disguise itself, must struggle with the principle to which it is opposed till one or other be overthrown. Though this effort to establish a mortal *High*

Priesthood should at first proceed from a real earnest wish to make the Invisible Priesthood more a fact to human consciousness, though it could actually be shewn to have produced this effect, yet in it must lie hid—to be displayed one time or another—the denial of an actual relationship between man and God. Out of it must proceed the degradation of man's spiritual rights; the subjection to creatures; all the evils which the writer of this Epistle saw threatening the Palestine Christians. It must involve not merely the loss of the Christian idea of priesthood, but of the Jewish also—the formal adoption of the heathen notion, which the heathen himself struggled against as a corruption—that the priestly order is not the representative of Humanity, but is separated from it; not the head of a kingdom of priests, but one whom they were to admire, because he is wholly different from themselves. Without advancing a step beyond the experience of the world in its Jewish and heathen divisions, we might assume that this principle, lying in the very nature of man, would assault Christianity. Without advancing a step beyond the teaching of this Epistle, we may affirm what the effect must be if the tempter prevailed. But are we therefore to say, The idea of priests upon earth, of men witnessing of that filial High Priest who has ascended into the heavens, witnessing for the real relation between God and man, witnessing for the spiritual glory of Humanity, connected as an order from generation to generation, yet having no tribe

limitation, standing not upon the law of a carnal commandment, but upon the gift of the divine Spirit; declaring that the oil of gladness is not theirs exclusively, that it goes down from the head to the skirts of his garment, that the powers, gifts, means of benefiting their brethren, which they receive, are signs that all gifts and powers bestowed upon any class of men for any work have the same source—are we to say that such an order of priests would be incompatible with any maxim of the new economy? Can we think that it would interfere with the heavenly and perfect character of the Head, or with the privileges of the body, or with the distinctness of any one of its members? Are we to say that such an order would have only a figurative, not a real, right to the name of priests? In what one characteristic of the office would they be deficient, save those which were the incidents of an imperfect period, or that which is the one property of Him to whom they all refer themselves, and apart from whom they have no reality? Must we not rather think, that if the priestly idea dropped out of the circle of Christian ideas, the sense of what mankind had gained by the ascension of Christ would disappear also; that if it were limited to Him who has fully realized, and can alone fully realize it, the belief of his union with the creatures whom he has called his brethren, would grow feeble; that if it were claimed merely by the Christian body, the belief of the unity of that body in its distinct portions, and as a whole

would evaporate, and merely a vague blessing be asserted for each person, the consciousness of which would be sufficient to exalt him in his own esteem, not to give him the practical assurance that he might draw nigh with a pure heart and spirit to God?

VI. It must have been a deeply interesting reflection to a Palestine Jew at the time this letter was written; "This temple made with hands is about to perish from off the earth; He said so who glorified it with His Presence, who called it His Father's house. We know that His glorified Body is the Great Temple of all; we know that we are spiritual temples in which He has promised to dwell. But supposing the earth should not at once be destroyed; supposing buildings for all earthly purposes should continue to be raised;—will those who hear the gospel of Christ and receive it, be prevented by that divine, mysterious faith of theirs, from raising temples to the Unseen Majesty of heaven and earth?" Once more the Epistle seems to determine the answer. A temple importing, as the Jewish temple did, that the veil was not withdrawn which separated men from God; a temple binding men to a figurative, not a real worship; leading them to think that the idea of God lay somewhere hidden in the forms of nature and art, and had not been embodied in the person of a man, must be at variance with the Christian revelation. And because the temptation to these dangers lay very near the heart of men, and had continually re-

appeared in the Jewish as well as the heathen world,—it was no unreasonable thought, that perhaps Christian men might for a time be turned away from the contemplation of outward forms, and of their connexion with the invisible, or at least might be hindered from any elaborate effort to express their awe of the one through the other. But since the imagination, turned out of one direction, is likely to disport itself wildly in another; since it may play quite as mischievously with intellectual as well as with sensual shapes,—such a provision, needful for a time, might not perhaps continue. The temple of the Jews, instead of being in itself a means to idolatry, had been the great witness against it. Animal and earthly forms had been by it redeemed and dedicated to the Unseen God, that they might not be honoured in themselves. The separation and consecration of a building had signified that God is not a Presence in earth or air, but a living Person. Such a testimony might not be less wanted in the new time, than in the old. The belief, that Christ had redeemed the earth by dwelling upon it, proved indeed that no portion of it was unholy. It could not prove that one or another place in the earth might not be set apart as a witness of its holiness—as an assertion of his dominion over it. He had gone into the unseen world; this might shew that men were not to dwell among visible things; it could not shew that visible things might not be converted into tokens of the invisible,—into means of withdrawing men from them-

selves. Christ had spoken in parables drawn from nature, and outward things, and then had promised to shew men plainly of the Father. This might prove that the perfectly spiritual and pure vision is the highest best thing of all, a blessing too which one as much as another, the poorest saint often more than the most learned, might attain. It could not shew that He would not hereafter endow His servants, as he did of old, with the power of translating the language of earth into that of heaven; of compelling wood and stone to testify of the Holy and Infinite Presence, and of man's ascent into it, as they had testified to Greek minds of the human and the finite, and of men's power over it.

VII. The Church will speak to us to-morrow of One who was presented pure to God in substance of our flesh. Here we have the realization of that idea of purification which was expressed in various forms under the Old Economy. Some of these forms were manifestly adapted to the education of an Eastern people; a moral education beautifully blended with the removal of physical evil and the promotion of bodily health. If universality were given to these, the idea of a dispensation for all people and languages would be set aside; if sacredness were given to them merely because they had proceeded from a divine Lawgiver, law would be exalted above its end and meaning, in contradiction to the maxim which this Epistle so diligently enforces. If any outward purification should be used merely to denote the need of purification of the conscience, and not to shew

that it might be effected by a divine process, the difference between the new and old economy was destroyed. If outward purifications should be used as a substitute for inward purifications, not the Old Economy, but the pharisaical conception of it, would be restored. Lastly, if it were taught that any purifications, outward or inward, were to make men pure in themselves as apart from Him in whom the purity of man dwells, the central truth of the New Testament is denied. But the Jews of Palestine had been practically taught that an outward act of purification was the introduction into the Christian family. This act had every sign of universality; it would be intelligible to all people in all lands. The words which accompanied it shewed that it did not speak of anything legal, but expressly of adoption into a filial covenant; of anything external, but of service to an Unseen and Holy Lord; of anything merely prospective, but of a purity already obtained for men in Christ; of anything unreal, but of a purification and deliverance of the heart and conscience from the corruptions of the world and flesh and the temptations of the Evil Spirit, to be wrought by the indwelling of a Divine Spirit. To suppose that this token of an accomplished and ever-continuing blessing, in which was gathered up the whole purpose to which the Old Economy was pointing—the great revelation of the New—could ever become obsolete, would have been the same thing, as to suppose that every imperfect apprehension of Judaism, every false and dark dream

of heathenism would be allowed to prevail against the truth which had come to satisfy the one and to disperse the other. Such apprehensions and dreams might return—in all probability they would; but in every age this simple rite of Baptism, interpreting itself by the words of Scripture, would be found the great barrier against them.

VIII. I have been led unawares into the next subject of which the Epistle speaks—that of the *Covenant*. It would be an abuse of language to speak of this as a Jewish institution; it was rather that which explained all the institutions, which gave the Israelite an assurance that they were really divine. Believing in it, Kings, Priests, Law, Sabbath-days, Temple, Purifications, were all unspeakably precious; losing his faith in it, all were dreary formalities, dead letters—only temptations to worship idols or glorify himself. In the days of Ahaz, forgetfulness of the Covenant was the sin; then it led to the worship of Syrian idols, and to distrust in God's care for the family of David: in the days of Zedekiah it was the sin; then it led to wilful confidence that the armies of Nebuchadnezzar could not destroy the sinful city: in the days of our Lord's Incarnation it was the sin; then it led to a feeling that God could not really manifest Himself to His creatures, that He was afar off, and not nigh; to theories about Him, instead of faith in Him; to sects and parties, instead of national fellowship; thence to an incapacity of recognising the true King; thence to the cry, "We have no king but

Cæsar!" thence to ruin and extirpation. Now the Hebrew Christians were told in this Epistle, that the old Covenant had passed away, that a new one had taken its place, of which they were the heirs. There were two important questions then to ask respecting themselves and all Christians in times to come: In what respects is this Covenant different from the Jewish? Will the effects of forgetting it be the same or different? To the first they could answer at once, if they understood the *doctrine* of the Epistle, A covenant of sonship is different from a covenant of servitude; adoption is better than mere election. By circumcision we are cut off directly from other nations, implicitly from our own evil natures. In baptism the main thing is separation from the evil nature, only the accident separation from any other people. Circumcision was Jewish; baptism is human; circumcision was the sign that the males of one country were taken by the Lord of all to be his subjects, baptism is the sign that men and women and children of all countries are adopted into one family, are sealed with the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

To the second question the *warnings* of the Epistle replied still more decisively. The Jewish Christians are reminded in it again and again, that their sin was essentially like that of their forefathers; for it was the sin of distrust, the sin of not believing that they had been taken under the divine government, and that God was really holding intercourse with them. But they are told also that the de-

gree of wrong and peril in the two cases was very different. To disbelieve in the heavenly Covenant was another thing from disbelieving in the earthly; to deny that they had a birthright in the divine kingdom was casting away a blessing quite unlike that which Esau cast away; not to claim citizenship in the New Jerusalem was to choose an exile with which theirs who gave up the privilege of circumcision and the Law, that they might be like the heathen round about, could bear no comparison.

Supposing then the tendency to forget the Christian Covenant which appeared so early in the Church should under one form or another characterize it in all periods, now tempting men to make it less comprehensive, now to empty it of its spiritual reality and reduce it to a form; now to treat the sign of it as if it were something in itself apart from Him who gave it as the witness of his relation to his creatures; now to make its worth contingent upon human acts or faith or feelings; now under some pretext or other to shut out baptized men from its privileges, powers, responsibilities;—we must expect from the intimations of Scripture that all other evils—superstition, recurrence to Judaism and heathenism, party spirit, godlessness would come in the train of this sin; that divine judgments would often bring men to the sense of it; that as it contains in itself the principle of apostasy, this, if the warnings were not heeded, would be its ultimate issue.

IX. Following the order of the Epistle, we

come at last to the subject of sacrifices;—a subject which, closely as it is connected with that of the priesthood, may yet be treated distinctly. It should be remembered that the Jewish notion of sacrifice is not only expressed in the daily offering or in the yearly atonement. Every Jew was considered as a sacrificed man. The firstborn, the chief of the man's strength, the representative of the whole family, was formally devoted to God, was formally redeemed from death by the giving up of an animal. Sacrifice then was not merely a provision against transgression, and anomaly. It was regarded as the true state of a creature in covenant with God. By entering into that covenant, he gave himself up, the sign of death was put upon him; he held his life as by respite, though it might extend to three-score years and ten, or to fourscore. Every offering of an animal day by day was a renewed confession of death being his natural condition, that from which God was keeping him. Every offering for a specific transgression was an acknowledgment of having departed from the true state of an Israelite, of having broken loose from allegiance to the King of the nation, from union to its members; it was asking to be restored; a witness that giving up of that which had caused the separation is necessary to restoration.

The Perfect Sacrifice realized the idea in both its aspects. He offered Himself as a Son, because His delight was to do the will of the Father in human flesh, as it had been before the worlds were. He

offered himself for transgressions, because the creatures whose nature he bore, instead of delighting to do His Will, had rebelled against it—had lived to themselves, instead of devoting themselves to Him. How then would those who believed that this atonement had been made, think henceforth of sacrifices? Animal sacrifices could not be now that the human Sacrifice had been offered; figurative sacrifices had been lost in the real Sacrifice—sacrifices to take away the sin of the world in that which had taken it away. There might be attempts again to substitute the figure for the reality—the imperfect for the perfect. Since the struggle of the flesh against the Spirit is so great, since man strives so hard not to be a receiver, such contrivances of the conscience to delude and satisfy itself might surely be predicted. By these untruths others could not fail to be generated, fearful confusions of spiritual objects and sensible, perhaps even of the thing offered with Him to whom it is offered. No doubt such contradictions, if they appeared in the Christian doctrine or worship, would have a long and desperate struggle with the principles which they disturbed, till they should be cast out by it. But what would they have to encounter, if not the principle of Sacrifice in its highest form?

Must not that idea penetrate even more deeply into this dispensation than it did into the old? Must not the presentation of the one real perfect Sacrifice to the Father, the continual thanksgiving for that sacrifice, be the central act of all worship to God—

of all fellowship among men? Must not the offering of the worshipper's soul and body as living sacrifices to God be the necessary fruit and accompaniment of this act, that which gives a meaning to all the greatest and meanest services—to the most transcendent and the commonest acts of life? Must not a return to Jewish and heathen notions of sacrifice, with the dark superstitions which accompanied the last, be the reaction against a temper of mind which undervalues sacrifice? Must not that temper of mind at last destroy the very idea of communion between heaven and earth, nay between man and man, and substitute the creed and practice of unmitigated selfishness for the creed and practice of the Gospel?

With these hints which we have gathered from the study of this Epistle as our guides, we may, I think, venture upon the difficult problems which the history of the Church presents, trusting that if we do not find the solution of them all, we shall at least be taught to discern a clear line between that which is the work of God, and that, however intimately blended with it, which has proceeded from an evil, counterfeit, destructive principle.



